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## THE AUTHOR

Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, is one of the leaders of the contemporary revolutionary movement and the trade union movement in China.

Liu Shao-chi was born in 1900 in Ninghsiang County, Hunan Province. In 1920, he joined the Socialist Youth League of China (the predecessor of the Communist Party of China), which was founded in the same year. In 1921, the Communist Party of China was established and Liu Shao-chi joined the Party in the same year. In the spring of 1922, he was appointed to the Secretariat of the China Labour Organisation, the forerunner of the All-China Federation of Labour.

From that time on to the defeat of the first great revolution in 1927 Liu Shao-chi led the revolutionary trade union movement in China.

After the defeat of the great revolution in 1927 Liu Shao-chi went underground and continued to direct the trade union movement. In the autumn of 1932, he went to the revolutionary base in Kiangsi and took charge of the workers' movement in the Red Areas.



From 1936 to 1942, Liu Shao-chi served successively as secretary of the North Bureau, Central Plains Bureau and Central China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Since 1932, Liu Shao-chi has been a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. From 1943 onwards, he has been a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Council.

When the People's Republic of China was inaugurated on October 1, 1949, Liu Shao-chi became Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government.

In addition to *On The Party*, other works by Liu Shao-chi include *On Inner-Party Struggle*, *The Cultivation of Communists*, *Internationalism and Nationalism* and other important writings.



LIU SHAO-CHI

# ON THE PARTY

BY  
LIU SHAO-CHI

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS  
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## ON THE PARTY

(VERBATIM REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE PARTY  
CONSTITUTION DELIVERED BY LIU SHAO-CHI ON MAY 14,  
1945 TO THE SEVENTH NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS.)

## INTRODUCTION

Comrades:

In his report to the Seventh National Party Congress, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a penetrating and brilliant analysis of the present international and domestic situation. He made a comprehensive summing up of the Anti-Japanese War of the Chinese nation during the past eight years and of the line persistently followed by our Party in this war. He formulated a great programme of common struggle for the Chinese people and for all democratic parties and groupings throughout the country on how to mobilise and unite all the forces of the Chinese people to defeat the Japanese invaders and on how to build up an independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous New China after defeating the Japanese invaders.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's report is a triumphant, militant call of the Chinese people and a Magna Charta for building a Republic of New Democracy.

Our Party, together with the Chinese people, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has travelled a tortuous path beset with immense difficulties in the past twenty-four years of heroic struggles, especially in the



last eight years of the Anti-Japanese War, and has finally achieved great successes and won for the Chinese nation and people boundless hope for a bright future. Our Party, together with the Liberated Areas, the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and other armed forces of the people under its leadership, has now become the centre of gravity of the Anti-Japanese War and the National Salvation Movement.

Our Party owes its tremendous achievements to the fact that from the early days of its founding it has been an entirely new political party of the proletariat, dedicated whole-heartedly to serving the Chinese people and built upon the solid theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism in its application to China. Using the Thought of Mao Tse-tung—the thought which unites the theories of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution—as the guide in all its work, our Party has formulated a revolutionary programme and revolutionary policies fully representing the interests of the Chinese nation and people. It has not only waged an irreconcilable struggle against all the enemies of the Chinese nation and people and against all the reactionary political groupings that betray the interests of the Chinese nation and people, but it has also routed opportunism of every description within the Party itself. It is precisely under the guidance of the great Thought of Mao Tse-tung that our Party has gathered together the most loyal, most courageous, most conscious and best disciplined representatives of the Chinese working class and labouring people, and has become the organised vanguard of the Chinese working class, fighting most

resolutely and courageously against the enemies of the Chinese nation and people, and knowing how to strike at the enemies and how to avoid their blows.

Our Party also owes its great achievements to the fact that it has persistently carried out its fundamental organisational principles of serving the people, thereby enabling it to take root among the masses and become a well-disciplined party with close connections with the masses of the people. It is a party of strict centralism based on democracy. It is a party with voluntarily-observed iron discipline and conducts serious criticism and self-criticism. It does not allow small groups or factionalist activities within the Party. It admits new Party members with care and each member must take part directly in a Party organisation and in Party work. All such organisational principles serve only one aim—to lead the people to complete emancipation. These principles have been embodied in our Party Constitution since its enactment by the First National Party Congress and have been proved completely correct in the great practical struggles of the past twenty-four years. Since our Party is a party organised on these principles, it is assured of successful execution of its political tasks, of unity of action in its struggles, of overcoming all kinds of difficulties, and of leading the people to a great victory.

The broad revolutionary masses of the Chinese people enthusiastically welcome and trust such a party as ours, not only because it possesses a revolutionary programme and policy fully representing the interests of the Chinese people but also because it has a closely-knit organisation and iron discipline, capable of surviving

severe, trying battles, in which it has demonstrated its solid organisational strength. Facing an enemy, powerful, cunning and barbarous, the struggle for the liberation of the Chinese nation of 475,000,000 suffering people is an exceedingly grave matter. Only a party like ours can and dare lead the entire people to defeat such an enemy and bring about liberation.

The revision of our Party Constitution today does not involve any change in the character of our Party or any revision in the fundamental organisational principles of our Party. On the contrary, we must further develop and strengthen the previously-mentioned character and principles of our Party on the basis of our Party's newly-gained experiences and on the basis of the Party-building theories additionally enriched by Comrade Mao Tse-tung during the past three revolutionary periods. In order to meet the forthcoming great events, in order to defeat the Japanese invaders and their running dogs, in order to establish an independent, free, democratic, united, and prosperous Republic of New Democracy, and in order to increase enormously the fighting power of our Party and strengthen its connections with the broad masses of the Chinese people, it is fully necessary to further develop and strengthen this character and these principles of our Party.

However, the Constitution—the rules and regulations—of our Party defines not only the Party's fundamental principles, but, in line with these principles, the methods of practical action for the Party organisation, and rules governing the organisational forms of the Party structure and inner-Party life. The organisational

forms and methods of work of the Party are determined by the Party's internal and external conditions and by its political tasks, and must be allowed a certain degree of flexibility. When the Party sets forth new political tasks because of changed circumstances and working conditions, the organisational forms and methods of work have to be changed accordingly; otherwise, old organisational forms and old methods of work will hinder the progress of our Party's work and the performance of our political tasks. That our Party is a creative Marxist political party is due to the fact that at no time have we tied ourselves ideologically or politically to any dead formulas, or regarded the organisational forms of our Party or any other organisational forms as hard and fast rules that cannot be altered. We have been able to improve from time to time our organisational forms and our methods of work in accordance with the concrete conditions of the development of the Chinese revolution and on the basis of our new political tasks and our newly-accumulated experiences. Therefore, it is vitally necessary to amend our Party Constitution under the fundamental organisational principles of our Party and by taking into account the new environment and the new conditions within the Party.

The Party firmly upholds the inviolability of its fundamental organisational principles. However, it must adapt its organisational forms and methods of work to the circumstances so as to expand the Party's activities and ensure the performance of its political tasks and its unity of action.

The Seventh National Party Congress will make many important amendments and additions to the Party Constitution. Why is it necessary to make such amendments and additions? The reasons are as follows:

1) It is now 17 years since our Party Constitution was last amended by the Sixth National Party Congress in 1928. Conditions both outside and inside the Party have greatly changed during these years. Today the Party is faced with the necessity of mobilising the whole Party membership to carry out entirely new political tasks.

2) The experiences which our Party has accumulated in directing the revolutionary struggles in China during the last 17 years are extremely rich and vitally important. It is essential that these experiences be summed up and used to reinforce our Party Constitution and strengthen the construction of our Party.

3) Because of special circumstances many provisions of the Party Constitution adopted at the Sixth National Party Congress have become inapplicable, with the result that many Party members fail to pay adequate attention to the Constitution and do not implement it with vigour. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the Seventh National Party Congress to frame a new Party Constitution, completely adapted to the present actual situation.

It is quite clear that our Party has certain new outstanding characteristics as compared with any other period in its history. Our Party today is a party with the following characteristics:

1) It is a party of a nation-wide scope and a broad mass character. It is a party in which the people throughout the country are placing their hopes. With its membership now totalling 1,210,000, and with its organisations and members spreading all over the country, it is regarded by the people of the whole country as their saviour.

2) It is a party steeled in long revolutionary wars, having mastered thoroughly the art of directing revolutionary war. The Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the other armed forces of the people which have been organised under its leadership constitute the main force in the present Anti-Japanese War. The Chinese nation and people rely upon these people's armed forces for waging a protracted war against the Japanese invaders and will continue to rely on our Party for enabling China to become a democratic, united New China after the war is over.

3) It is a party that has led 95,000,000 people behind the enemy lines to set up strong revolutionary bases, where democratic reforms have been instituted, and where the political, military, economic and cultural construction of New Democracy has been effected, resulting in an increase in production, improvement of the people's livelihood, stabilisation of society, elevation in the levels of the people's culture and consciousness. Thus, the Party has been able to mobilise and unite all the people in these bases to repulse the Japanese invaders and to give encouragement to the revolutionary struggles of the people of the whole country. These bases are a pattern

for the New China and a guarantee for the people throughout the country to win victory for the revolution.

4) It is a party that has successfully combatted various kinds of erroneous ideas and achieved an unprecedented unity and solidarity ideologically, politically and organisationally as the result of the Rectification of Three Styles Campaign. The opportunist lines in our Party's history have been thoroughly liquidated and non-proletarian ideas within the Party have been largely overcome in the Rectification of Three Styles Campaign, while the proletarian Marxist-Leninist ideology and line, as exemplified by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has gained an unprecedentedly solid victory in the Party as a whole. A great number of splitters and spies who were hiding in our Party and trying to undermine the nation have been purged from the Party. Thus, our Party has become united and consolidated ideologically, politically and organisationally as never before. This contributes immeasurably to the entire cause of China's liberation.

5) Last, but not least, our Party is a party that has a great leader of its own. This leader is none other but Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who is the organiser and leader of our Party and of the present-day Chinese revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is an outstanding representative of the heroic proletariat of our country, and of all that is best in the traditions of our great nation. He is a creative and talented Marxist, combining as he does the universal truth of Marxism—the highest ideology of mankind—with the concrete practice of the Chinese

revolution. He has raised our national thinking to an unprecedented height and shown to the suffering Chinese nation and people the only correct and clear road towards complete liberation—the road of Mao Tse-tung. Following this road our Party and the Chinese people launched the unprecedentedly great revolutionary movement before 1927, of which Comrade Mao Tse-tung was the organiser. During the Agrarian Revolution the great Soviet Areas and the Red Army were created, with Comrade Mao Tse-tung as their founder and leader. In the Anti-Japanese War there were created the great Liberated Areas and the people's armed forces—the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army—of which Comrade Mao Tse-tung was again the founder and leader.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the leader of our Party. He is also an ordinary member of our Party, placing himself completely at the service of the Party. He is most scrupulous in the observance of Party discipline in every respect. He is the leader of the masses, yet he bases everything on the will of the people. He is the most loyal servant and the humblest pupil before the people.

Because Comrade Mao Tse-tung is such a figure who has risen out of the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people and who has been tested in more than thirty years of the great Chinese revolutionary struggles he is intimately known to the entire Party and to the broad masses of the people. The fact that he is the leader of our Party and of the Chinese nation and



people is precisely the result of their faith in him and of their careful choice.

Besides having a great leader of its own, our Party also has a great number of well-tempered elite cadres who are armed with the Thought of Mao Tse-tung and who are rallied around him. These cadres have also been tested during a long period of struggle as the most brilliant elements, the cream of the Chinese nation, and first-rate talents in the Chinese people's revolution and national construction in every field. As our Party and our nation have such a great leader and such a group of cadres, we are invincible and will vanquish all the enemies of the Chinese nation and people.

Comrades, our Party is already a Marxist-Leninist party of a nationwide scope and a broad mass character, fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organisationally, and with a leader of its own. Today it has already become the determining factor in China's political life.

Such are the main features of the existing conditions of our Party.

Such are the tremendous successes our Party has already achieved. They are great victories for all the Chinese people. They are great victories for Marxism-Leninism among the Chinese people. They are victories for the Thought and leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the leader of our Party.

However, this does not mean to say that there are no shortcomings or weaknesses whatever in our Party.

Nor does it mean to say that there are no difficulties ahead. We still have shortcomings and weaknesses. What we have done still leaves us far away from our goal. There are many difficulties ahead to be overcome.

Our Party is, for the most part, located in the rural districts and the overwhelming majority of Party members are of peasant and petty-bourgeois origin. Generally speaking, the theoretical and cultural levels of our Party members are not high, although they have been steeled in stern revolutionary struggles. Within the Party itself some comrades have not yet completely overcome their subjective style of work, while others still display commandism, bureaucracy and warlordism which estrange the masses from the Party, and other tendencies such as blind "mountain-top-ism" which impedes the unity and solidarity of the whole Party. These shortcomings and weaknesses in our Party can only be overcome with greater efforts and more painstaking education.

Our Party, together with the Chinese nation and people, having passed through long, heroic struggles, especially the heroic Anti-Japanese War of the last eight years, is now approaching victory. Our present task is to fight for and to be prepared for the victory, to mobilise and unite all the forces of the entire Chinese people in coordination with our Allies to eventually drive out the Japanese invaders and to recover the lost cities and villages, to overcome all the anti-democratic forces throughout the country, and to establish an independent, free, democratic, united, and prosperous New China. In order to achieve these objectives we must strengthen a hundred-fold the work of our Party, enhance its

organisational role and its leadership among all sections of the masses, and prepare both them and ourselves ideologically, politically, and organisationally for the unprecedentedly gigantic struggles and the greatest victory in history. These are the immediate political and organisational tasks of our Party.

These conditions and tasks facing our Party constitute the starting point for amending our Party Constitution.

## THE GENERAL PROGRAMME OF THE PARTY CONSTITUTION

We have formulated a General Programme and added it to the beginning of the Constitution. It is the basic programme of our Party. It is also an integral part of the Party Constitution—the premises and general rules of the Party Constitution. Every Party member must accept this General Programme as a criterion for his activities. The General Programme will further strengthen the unity and solidarity of the whole Party.

The General Programme embodies the Party's fighting experiences of the last twenty-four years and absorbs the best experiences of the world working-class movement. It is the embodiment of the Thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our Party leader. It sets forth in simple language the Party's character and theory. It explains the character, motive forces, tasks and outstanding characteristics of the Chinese revolution. It defines our Party's basic policy and necessary requirements in the Chinese revolution. It points out that there is no room for opportunism in the Party. It further deals with self-criticism inside the Party, the mass line and the organisational principles of the Party. All these have already been mentioned in the General Programme

of the Party Constitution. What I want to do is merely to make some explanation on the following questions:

### **1. Regarding the Character of Our Party**

The General Programme of the Constitution points out at its very beginning that our Party is the organised vanguard of the Chinese working class and the highest form of its class organisation, that it represents the interests of the Chinese nation and people, that at the present stage it works to create a system of New Democracy in China and that its ultimate aim is the realisation of a system of Communism in China. Are there any doubts about this character of our Party? I think not.

Prior to the founding of our Party, the Chinese nation and people, under the leadership of their best talents, had waged for eighty years successive, heroic revolutionary struggles against imperialism and feudalism until 1921, when the Chinese Communist Party was born. The birth of our Party was occasioned by the international and domestic conditions at the time. Internationally, they were mainly the First World War and the great Socialist October Revolution in Russia. Domestically, they were the increasingly ferocious imperialist aggression and feudal warlord oppression, the people's revolutionary struggles, and the rise of the proletarian movement following the May Fourth Movement. These conditions caused Chinese revolutionaries headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung to turn for the first time from radical revolutionary democracy to proletarian Communism, thereby giving birth to the Communist Party of China.

Since its very birth, our Party has had a clear-cut class consciousness. It has adopted the proletarian standpoint in leading the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution. It has combined the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese working-class movement and the Chinese revolution, and has acquired an exemplary style of work befitting an advanced proletarian political party. All these gave a fresh complexion to the Chinese revolution. By now, after twenty-four years of practical trials and tests in the most difficult, tortuous, and exceedingly intricate revolutionary struggles, the Party has not only created a new triumphant situation for the Chinese revolution, but has also accumulated exceedingly rich experiences which, through Comrade Mao Tse-tung's crystallisation and creative work, has raised to a higher degree of perfection the combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. This means that our Party has always been a Party of a completely new type—a proletarian Marxist-Leninist party—and is particularly so now.

Although the main sections of our Party are located in the countryside and the vast majority of the Party members come from the peasantry and petty bourgeois intelligentsia, with only a small percentage of workers, yet the aggregate of Party members of proletarian and semi-proletarian (poor peasant) origin constitutes the majority. This and other conditions of the Party have naturally presented a series of important problems, such as the reflection of a great deal of small producers' ideology in the Party. Even bourgeois and feudal

ideologies have found their way into our Party through the channels of the petty bourgeois elements in our Party. Herein lies the social origin of subjectivism, sectarianism, Party jargon, and political and organisational opportunism in our Party. However, this state of things cannot alter the fact that our Party is a political party of the proletariat.

The proletarian character of our Party is determined by the following conditions:

1) It was in the era of the great world proletarian revolution that our Party came into existence and grew on the basis of China's great revolution before 1927 and the great working-class movement before the revolution, by absorbing the best traditions of the international Marxist-Leninist movement and by maintaining uninterrupted contact with China's working-class movement.

2) Our Party has developed consistently in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in regard to China and in accordance with the political and organisational lines formulated by him. All those who were opposed to these lines have been punished by history. The Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung possesses unlimited prestige. It also has a great number of cadres who have long been steeled in struggles and armed with Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung—many of whom have emerged directly from the working-class movement and who are fully capable of taking up the cause directed by the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

3) The proletarian programme and policy of the Party are different from those of any other party. Because of this programme and policy our Party has independently organised and led the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist New Democratic Revolution of the Chinese people, fulfilled to the maximum extent the tasks of the Chinese proletariat in the present bourgeois-democratic revolution and carried out the leadership of the proletariat in the people's revolution, with Socialism and Communism as its ultimate goal.

4) Every Party member must observe the iron proletarian discipline of the Party. Every Party member is required to abide by the Party Programme and Constitution and to become an active worker in a Party organisation. The Party preserves and strengthens its proletarian unity ideologically, politically, and organisationally at all times. It has purged from its ranks all alien elements and hopeless and incorrigible opportunists.

5) More than twenty years of civil war and national war have steeled our Party. Several hundreds of thousands of Party members for a long time gave up their respective occupations in society and became engaged in revolutionary military collective life and life-and-death struggle, thereby requiring them to go through a stern ideological and organisational schooling and tempering. As a result, their class-consciousness and collective will have been raised and their organisation and discipline strengthened. They have come to understand the need for solidarity and unity of the entire Party in the face of the enemy, by requiring every Party member to obey unconditionally the Party's centralised leadership, and by



carrying out an incessant elimination of wavering elements in the Party in the course of serious revolutionary struggles.

6) Through Marxist-Leninist education, Party members of petty bourgeois origin have undergone a thorough-going ideological reform, which changes their former petty bourgeois nature and imparts to them the qualities of the advanced fighters of the proletariat.

A party so founded, so steeled and so educated is certainly not inferior, to say the least, to the proletarian party in any capitalist country.

The social origin of the Party membership alone cannot determine everything. The determining factor is our Party's political struggles and political life, its ideological education and its ideological and political leadership. The General Programme of our Party and its organisational principles assure the predominance in the Party of the proletarian ideology and proletarian line. No matter how widely petty bourgeois ideology is reflected in the Party, it is illegal within the Party and it is being constantly corrected through Party education and through the Rectification of Three Styles. Moreover, it has become bankrupt because it has been proved to be incompatible with the interests of the people.

The social origin of our Party membership cannot determine the character of our Party just as the social composition of the membership of the Labour parties in certain European countries cannot determine their character. Although the majority of their members come from the working-class, those Labour parties are not

political parties representing the working class. They can never perform the tasks of the working class in those countries.

In China, a great number of petty bourgeois revolutionaries have joined our Party. This is a very good thing. Our Party must not reject them. True, our Party should pay the greatest attention to recruiting the advanced elements among the workers. But it is also necessary to draw in large numbers of the advanced elements from all sections of the labouring people. Only then will it be possible for our Party to become a powerful party based on the broad masses of the people. That the proletariat should incessantly replenish its ranks by taking in petty bourgeois elements is simply a law of historical necessity.

Being transitional classes as they are, the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry are bound to go through a process of disintegration. Except for a small number of them who climb up to join the bourgeoisie, the majority of them will go bankrupt and swell the ranks of the proletariat. While remaining as transitional classes, the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry may follow politically either the liberal bourgeoisie or the proletariat. And ideologically they may accept the influence of either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. Hence, under certain given historical conditions, the revolutionary elements of the petty bourgeoisie may join the proletarian party in great numbers and accept proletarian education. On the other hand, the proletarian party, our Party, is capable of educating and reforming them.

Experience shows that after joining our Party on our terms most of them did seriously study and accept the Party's education of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung, observe Party discipline, and take part in the practical revolutionary struggles of the people. In so doing they have changed their original character and become Marxist-Leninists—fighters of the proletariat. Many of them have even sacrificed their lives for the Party's cause, the cause of Communism in China.

But of these people there were also a very small number who, after joining the Party, failed to study Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung sincerely and correctly. They failed to change their old viewpoints or styles of work, and sometimes even stubbornly opposed proletarian viewpoints and styles of work in an attempt to reconstruct our Party and rebuild its internal life according to their own petty bourgeois concepts and tastes. Thus, quite naturally, they not only failed to become genuine Marxist-Leninists—the fighters of the proletariat—but engendered all kinds of mistakes and disputes within the Party. This too has been repeatedly proved by historical experience.

Therefore, all those who join our Party must study, in dead earnest, Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung. This is particularly true of the petty bourgeois revolutionary elements who, both before and after their admission into our Party, ought to study even harder in order to remould their ideology by discarding their old class position to take up the position of the proletariat and by overcoming their subjectivist,

individualist and sectarian tendencies. They cannot hope to become first-rate Party members without being thus reformed. This is often a long, painstaking process, and an agonising one at that for many petty bourgeois revolutionary elements who are not yet fully conscious. Herein lies a particularly important problem and an outstanding feature in building up our Party.

The most intrinsic contradictions inside our Party are those between proletarian and non-proletarian ideologies, of which the most vital is the contradiction between the ideology of the proletariat on the one hand and the ideology of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie on the other. Only through the gradual removal of such contradictions and through an incessant weeding out of petty bourgeois and other class ideologies reflected in our Party, and only by strengthening in our Party the education and steeling in Marxism-Leninism—the scientific ideology of the proletariat—can our Party-building and Party work advance and develop. If, on the contrary, petty bourgeois ideology is allowed to spread freely within the Party, even to the extent of dominating the Party's leadership and repressing the development of proletarian ideas, our Party-building and our Party work will certainly retrogress and decline. Hence, the principal problem in our Party-building is ideological reconstruction, i.e., to educate and reform our Party members, especially the petty bourgeois revolutionary elements, with Marxism-Leninism—the scientific ideology of the proletariat. In other words, it is a problem of combatting and overcoming non-proletarian ideologies of every description inside the Party.

China's petty bourgeoisie is numerically great. A large number of our Party members are of petty bourgeois origin. China's proletariat and our Party in the past were in their infancy, lacking in experience. Our Party had neither sufficient ideological preparation in Marxism-Leninism before its foundation nor adequate time after its foundation for theoretical study as it immediately plunged itself wholly into the turbulent, practical, revolutionary struggles. Because of these reasons, our Party suffered for a long time from inadequate Marxist-Leninist ideological schooling, thus making it possible for the petty bourgeois elements inside our Party who had not yet been reformed to propagate under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism what was in essence opportunism, by taking advantage of the ideological ignorance on the part of many Party members and by making use of the petty bourgeois sentiments in the Party. This is the reason why petty bourgeois ideology gained a temporary ascendancy in the Party's leading bodies at certain periods.

When petty bourgeois ideology was in the ascendancy in the Party leadership, Right or "Left" opportunist lines were carried out not only politically but also in the field of Party-building and Party organisation.

The Right opportunist line in Party-building and Party organisation was demonstrated by the line of liberalism pursued by certain comrades. These comrades attempted to turn our Party into a party of petty bourgeois liberalism. They opposed and discarded the ideological and organisational rigidity of our Party. They undermined the democratic centralism and iron dis-

cipline within the Party by enrolling Party members en masse and without discrimination, by allowing all sorts of erroneous ideas to develop within the Party without correcting them, by abandoning vigilance against the Party's enemies and saboteurs, by advocating "showing off" within the Party and by supporting looseness, factional tendencies and spontaneity within the Party. It is quite obvious that this might have prevented our Party from accomplishing anything and would have brought about its eventual collapse.

The "Left" opportunist line in Party-building and Party organisation was manifested in ignoring China's characteristics by some comrades, who mechanically imported foreign experiences about Party-building and turned them into absolute dogmas. They one-sidedly emphasised inner-Party centralism and inner-Party struggles. They emphasised "no compromise whatever", and mechanical enforcement of discipline. They discarded inner-Party democracy and harmony, serious discussions and criticisms on problems, and self-consciousness and initiative on the part of Party members. Within the Party they liked to issue orders and acted arbitrarily like patriarchs. They pursued a policy of obscurantism. They encouraged blind obedience on the part of Party members and carried on merciless inner-Party struggles and penalisation. They punished, expelled and purged Party members wholesale. As a result, mechanical discipline and a feudalistic order prevailed in the Party and inner-Party life became stagnant. In so doing they might have temporarily created an appearance of inner-Party unity. But such unity was false, superficial, and

mechanical. Once the falsity was exposed a state of inner-Party anarchy and ultra-democracy would ensue. Such a line would obviously destroy our Party and turn it into a narrow, lifeless, sectarian faction.

These two deviations are the reflections of petty bourgeois liberalism, sectarianism, and impetuosity on the question of organisation.

Apart from the two deviations mentioned above, there were still other comrades who, because of their ideological and political weakness and ignorance, stressed only the organisational aspect of Party-building, instead of emphasising the ideological and political building up of the Party with the result that Party-building became a formality. They favoured and promoted the so-called "honest fellows" who knew nothing but blind obedience. They feared and blamed those who could do their own thinking, who were highly capable and who refused to obey blindly. They attached too much importance to the petty trifles in other people's daily life but failed to pay attention to the one thing of supreme importance—namely, to cultivate and raise the consciousness of the Party membership from the ideological and political standpoints and thus to strengthen the organisation and discipline of the Party. They further failed to understand that in order to attain this objective it is essential first of all to arouse and raise the consciousness of the higher and middle-ranking cadres. They concentrated their attention only on worker-peasant elements in the Party and were afraid of capable intellectuals.

They were busy with so-called organisational "leadership", holding meetings, running hither and thither, occupying themselves with all kinds of trifling matters. But they did not use their brains, and were unable to lift organisational leadership to the level of ideological and political leadership, resulting in separating the Party's organisational work from its ideological and political leadership. This is blindness in Party-building. It is obvious that this is not the way to build up a proletarian Marxist-Leninist party. Opportunism inside the Party is likely to take advantage of such a situation.

Our Party has unceasingly waged uncompromising struggles against such erroneous lines and overcome them. Our Party has unanimously supported and followed Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line of Party-building. In sharp contrast to the erroneous lines mentioned above, this correct line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung first of all stressed ideological and political building-up as well as organisational building-up. Comrade Mao Tse-tung frequently told us that ideological education and ideological leadership should hold first place in our Party leadership.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has formulated for us detailed and comprehensive political, military, and organisational lines. In the Resolution of the Kuitun Conference in 1929, he emphatically pointed out that the various deviations originated in non-proletarian ideology inside the Party and called upon our comrades to correct them once and for all. Apart from this, he adopted a creative method of education in the



form of Rectification of Three Styles to correct all the petty bourgeois ideologies reflected in the Party—subjectivism, sectarianism and the stereotyped use of Party jargon, which are modes of thinking and organisation and monotonous repetition in expression, all characteristic of petty bourgeois ideology. He considered the course of our Party's development as a process through which the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism was to be integrated ever more closely with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. He linked closely the process of Party-building with the Party's political line, with our Party's relationship to the bourgeoisie and to armed struggle.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *Resolution of the Kutien Conference*, the second part of *On The New Stage*, *The Editorial Statement Initiating the Publication of "The Communist"*, *Reform Our Study, Rectification of Three Styles Campaign (of Study, of Party Organisation, and of Writing)*, *Against the Stereotyped Use of Party Jargon*, *Decisions by the Central Committee on the Furtherance of the Campaign of Rectification of Three Styles* (April 3rd, 1943), *Decisions by the Central Committee On The Methods of Leadership* (June 1st, 1943) and other works are the crystallisation of his Party-building line, a correct line formulated according to our Party's special features. The carrying out of this line has enabled us to overcome all kinds of opportunist and erroneous lines of Party-building with the result that the Party has made tremendous progress and success.

It is obvious that had our Party followed the previously-mentioned incorrect lines of Party-building, it could not have become a party of the working class, even if there were a higher percentage of worker elements in our Party membership. As we have followed Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Party-building line, we can build, and have already built up, a Marxist Party of the working class although the number of worker elements in our Party membership does not yet constitute the majority.

For long years the main sections of our Party have remained in the rural districts. This is due to the fact that China is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, with a broad mass of peasants serving as the main force of the present revolution, and that the Chinese working class, oppressed in the cities and for a long time unable to carry on revolutionary activities freely, sent its vanguard to the countryside to organise the broad mass of its allies there in order to act in coordination with these allies in liberating the cities at the opportune moment. This is the actual meaning of our Party's long-term work in the countryside. Under the existing peculiar conditions in China, only by so doing can our Party represent the Chinese working class, and carry out the tasks of the working class at the present period. Should our Party fail to do so, it could not represent the Chinese working class. The reason is because the present revolution in China is essentially a peasant revolution. The immediate task of the Chinese working class is basically to emancipate the Chinese peasantry. Placed under the leadership of a proletarian party, the great peasant war in China differs from all other peasant wars in Chinese history

and is completely capable of victory. It is only natural and logical that our Party, as the vanguard of the working class, should have directed its greatest efforts for a long time toward organising and leading this peasant revolution in the countryside.

The General Programme of the Party Constitution points out that our Party represents the interests of the Chinese nation and people. Of course, this is the essence of our Party and of the Thought of Mao Tse-tung. The interests of the Chinese proletariat and the interests of the Chinese people are identical at all periods of time. The New Democratic Revolution against imperialism and against feudalism now carried on by our Party is in the interests not only of the working class but also of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party of China can succeed only when it stands not only for the partial and immediate interests of its own class but also for the interests of the entire people and only when it organises and unites not only its own class but also the entire nation and people to carry on the struggle. The proletariat cannot achieve its own liberation if it fails to liberate the people as a whole.

On the other hand, the Chinese working class and the entire labouring people constitute the main body of the Chinese nation. It is their interests that form the foundation of the interests of the Chinese nation and people. In fighting for the creation of an independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous New China, the Chinese Communist Party is representing the interests of the entire Chinese nation and people as well as of the Chinese working-class. The same is true in the future.

when the Party will fight for the realisation of Socialism and Communism, because the building up of a Socialist and Communist society means the final emancipation of mankind as a whole.

## **2. Regarding the Guiding Theory of the Party**

The General Programme of the Party Constitution provides that the Chinese Communist Party guides all its work by the Thought of Mao Tse-tung—the thought that unites the theories of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution—and is opposed to any dogmatist or empiricist deviation. As regards the historical heritages, whether Chinese or foreign, we neither reject nor accept them without discrimination, but accept critically what is valuable and useful and discard what is valueless and inapplicable, basing ourselves on Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism. All this is very clear.

What needs explaining is the Thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The General Programme of the Party Constitution stipulates that the Thought of Mao Tse-tung shall guide all the work of our Party. The Constitution itself provides that it is the duty of every Party member to endeavour to understand the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung. This is a most important historical characteristic in our amendment of the Constitution at this time. I believe that this Congress and the entire Party will heartily support this stipulation.

For over a century the Chinese nation and people have suffered incredible hardships. Their bitter and costly struggles for their own emancipation have accumulated exceedingly rich experiences. Their practical struggles and the experiences thus gained inevitably culminated in the creation of great theories of their own, thus showing that the Chinese people are not only capable of fighting but also that they have a modern scientific revolutionary theory. Because of the political and economic weaknesses of China's bourgeoisie, its lack of contact with the people and its limited outlook and thinking, the representatives of the Chinese bourgeoisie, much as they are able to put forward a certain kind of revolutionary programme and certain democratic ideas, all the good points of which we have already inherited, cannot build up a systematic revolutionary theory, let alone a comprehensive, systematic, and scientific theory in regard to the whole course of Chinese history and the Chinese revolution. Such a theory can only be created by the representatives of the Chinese proletariat, of whom the most outstanding and the greatest is Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

This Congress should ardently welcome the fact that since the foundation of the Chinese Communist Party there has been created and developed a unique, integrated, and correct theory concerning the people's revolution and national reconstruction in China. This theory has led our Party and our people to great victories and it will continue to lead our Party and our people to ultimate and complete victory and liberation. This is the greatest achievement and glory of our Party and the

Chinese people in their long struggles and it will bring blessings to our nation for generations and generations. This theory is none other but the Thought of Mao Tse-tung—Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory and policy in regard to Chinese history, Chinese society and the Chinese revolution.

The Thought of Mao Tse-tung is the thought that unites Marxist-Leninist theories with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution. It is Communism and Marxism applied to China.

The Thought of Mao Tse-tung is a further development of Marxism in the national, democratic revolution in a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal country at the present period. It is the best expression of Marxism applied to a given nation. It has grown and developed in the long revolutionary struggles of the Chinese nation and people and in the three great revolutionary wars (the Northern Expedition, the Agrarian Revolution and the present Anti-Japanese War). It is as Chinese as it is thoroughly Marxist.

It has been formulated through the application of the Marxist world outlook and social outlook—dialectical materialism and historical materialism. In other words, it has been formulated on the solid foundation of Marxist-Leninist theories, by taking into account China's national traits, by relying on the exceedingly rich experiences of modern revolutions and of the Chinese Communist Party in directing the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people and by making a careful and scientific analysis

of such experiences. It is the theory and policy in regard to the emancipation of the Chinese nation and people, expounded on the basis of the interests of the proletariat and, on account of this, the interests of the entire people, by applying the scientific method of Marxism-Leninism and by synthesising China's history, social conditions, and all her revolutionary experiences. It is the only correct theory and policy for the proletariat and all the working people in China fighting for their own emancipation.

The Thought of Mao Tse-tung, the theory and practice of Communism applied to China, has grown and developed not only in the course of the revolutionary struggles against domestic and foreign enemies but also in the course of the struggles over principle against various erroneous opportunist ideas within the Party—Chen Tu-hsiu-ism, Li Li-san's line and the subsequent lines of "Left" deviations, capitulationism, dogmatism and empiricism. It is our Party's only correct guiding theory and its only correct general line.

The birth, development, and maturity of the Thought of Mao Tse-tung has a history of twenty-four years. It has been repeatedly tested in the course of numerous bitter struggles of millions upon millions of people and has been proved to be objective truth, the only correct theory and policy to save China. Numerous historical events in the past have shown that whenever the revolution was under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung it succeeded and developed and whenever it departed from that leadership it met with failure or decline.

The combination of Marxist theories with the practice of the proletarian revolution in the epoch of imperialism, and the practice of the Russian revolution, gave rise to Russian Bolshevism—Leninism-Stalinism, which not only guided the Russian people to win their complete emancipation but also guided and is still guiding the peoples all over the world to achieve emancipation. What Comrade Mao Tse-tung has done as a disciple of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is precisely to unite the theories of Marxism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution, thus giving rise to Chinese Communism—the Thought of Mao Tse-tung—which has guided, and is guiding, the Chinese people to achieve complete emancipation. It will make great and useful contributions to the struggle for the emancipation of the peoples of all countries in general and of the peoples in the East in particular.

The Thought of Mao Tse-tung, from his world outlook to his style of work, is Marxism applied to China in the process of development and perfection. It constitutes the integrated theory of revolution and national reconstruction of the Chinese people. This theory is found in Comrade Mao Tse-tung's writings and in our Party literature. It embodies Comrade Mao Tse-tung's analysis of the present world situation and China's special conditions. It is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theories and policies in regard to New Democracy, the emancipation of the peasantry, the revolutionary united front, revolutionary wars, revolutionary bases, the establishment of a Republic of New Democracy, Party-building, and culture. All these theories and policies are as thoroughly



Marxist as they are Chinese. They are the highest expression of the intellect and the highest theoretical attainment of the Chinese people.

Because of the distinctive peculiarities in China's social and historical development and her backwardness in science, it is a unique and difficult task to apply Marxism systematically to China and to transform it from its European form into Chinese form; in other words, to solve the various problems of the contemporary Chinese revolution from the standpoint of Marxism and with the Marxist method. Many of these problems have never been solved or raised by the world's Marxists, for here in China the main sections of the masses are not workers but peasants, and the fight is directed against foreign imperialist oppression and against the medieval remnants, and not against domestic capital.

This can never be accomplished, as some people seem to think, by memorising and reciting Marxist works or just by quoting from them. It calls for a combination on a high level of scientific and revolutionary spirit. It requires profound historical and social knowledge, rich experience in guiding the revolutionary struggles and skill in using Marxist-Leninist methods to make an accurate and scientific analysis of the social and historical objective conditions and development. It further requires boundless and indefatigable loyalty to the cause of the proletariat and of the people; faith in the strength, creative power and the future of the masses; skill in crystallising the experiences, the will and the ideas of the masses and then applying them in the mass work. Only by so doing has it been possible to make these in-

dependent and brilliant additions to Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of each specific period of the historical development and the concrete economic and political conditions in China. Only by so doing has it been possible to express it in plain language, easily understood by the Chinese people, adapt it to a new historical environment and to China's special conditions and to turn it into a weapon in the hands of the Chinese proletariat and all labouring people.

It is no one but our Comrade Mao Tse-tung who has so splendidly and successfully performed the extremely difficult task of adapting Marxism to China. This constitutes one of the greatest achievements in the history of the Marxist movement all over the world. It is an unprecedented development of Marxism, the best of all truths, in a nation of 475 millions. This is something for which we should be particularly grateful.

Our Comrade Mao Tse-tung is not only the greatest revolutionary and statesman in Chinese history, but also its greatest theoretician and scientist. He not only dared to lead the entire Party and the entire Chinese people to wage struggles that shook the world, but his theoretical attainments and his moral courage were also of the highest. In the theoretical field, he was boldly creative, discarding certain specific Marxist principles and conclusions that were obsolete and incompatible with the concrete conditions in China, and replacing them with new principles and new conclusions that are compatible with China's new historical conditions. This is the reason why he has been able to carry out successfully the difficult and gigantic work of applying Marxism to China.

Because of inadequate theoretical preparation, our Party and many of our Party members have experienced much trouble in their work, groping their way through unnecessary and tortuous paths. Now, thanks to the painstaking work and talented creation of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the theoretical groundwork has been fully laid down for our Party and the Chinese people. This will greatly enhance their self-confidence and their fighting power and accelerate the march of the Chinese revolution toward victory. Therefore, the important task is to mobilise the entire Party to study and disseminate the Thought of Mao Tse-tung, and to arm our membership and the revolutionary people with this Thought, so that it may become a living, irresistible force. For this purpose, all Party schools and training classes must adopt Comrade Mao Tse-tung's writings as basic teaching material and the cadres must study Comrade Mao Tse-tung's writings systematically. All our Party press must propagate the Thought of Mao Tse-tung in a systematic manner. The propaganda departments of the Party should edit Comrade Mao Tse-tung's important works in the form of popular reading matter to suit the level of the average Party member.

Having overcome thought-stifling dogmatism in the Party, we should make further efforts to remove the obstacle of empiricism and start a campaign in the Party to study the Thought of Mao Tse-tung. We may then anticipate a great upsurge of Marxist culture in the Party. This means making ideological preparation for the victory of the people's revolution in China.

The Thought of Mao Tse-tung is the foundation of the present revised Party Constitution and its General Programme. It is the duty of all Party members to study it, to disseminate it, and to follow its guidance in their work.

### **3. Regarding the Characteristics of the Chinese Revolution**

The General Programme of the Party Constitution points out that present-day Chinese society is of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal character. But the Liberated Areas, with a total population close to one hundred millions, are of a New Democratic character. This character indicates the economic and political unevenness and complexity of Chinese society.

Because of this character of Chinese society, because of the existence of the powerful Chinese Communist Party, because of the present world conditions and because of the fact that the basic motive force of the Chinese revolution is the masses of the people with the peasantry as the main force under the leadership of the proletariat, the Chinese revolution cannot be either a bourgeois-democratic revolution of the old type or a proletarian Socialist revolution of the newest type. It is a revolution which in character is a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type. In this revolution, the basic motive forces are the proletariat, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. But other classes may join the revolution, which has broad allies both at home and abroad. For this reason, the task of the Chinese Communist Party at the

present stage is to unite all the classes, strata, nationalities and individuals that may take part in the revolution to fight for thorough elimination of the oppression of both foreign imperialism and domestic feudalism and for the establishment in China of a Chinese Republic of New Democracy, which is to be based on an alliance of all the revolutionary classes and on a free union of all nationalities. Only after this revolution has been thoroughly completed, only when the economy of Chinese society has fully developed to a certain degree in a country of New Democracy, only when many necessary preparatory steps have been taken, and finally, only when the needs and the wishes of the Chinese people have been consulted, can the Chinese proletariat build up a Socialist and Communist social system in China. These questions which were rather confusing and which gave rise to much debate in the Party in the past have already been definitely clarified.

In addition, the General Programme of the Party Constitution also points out many other characteristics of the Chinese revolution, such as its uneven development, its protracted nature, the complexity of its struggle, and the importance of armed struggle and of revolutionary bases in the rural districts at a given period. All these points have also been clarified.

The problems concerning the characteristics of the Chinese revolution have been the most controversial within our Party in the past. Misunderstanding on these problems has invariably led to different kinds of opportunist mistakes in the Party. It is in the struggles against

opportunism on such issues that the Thought of Mao Tse-tung has attained its full development. Therefore these characteristics must be positively elucidated in the General Programme of the Party Constitution. It is necessary for every Party member to understand them thoroughly.

The entire history of our Party furnishes the best interpretation of these characteristics of the Chinese revolution. It is through this glorious, unique, historical path, and it has been under the guidance of the Thought of Mao Tse-tung in regard to the understanding and use of these characteristics that our Party has grown from a small group of Marxists founded after the May Fourth Movement of 1919 to a powerful party as it is today, leading strong revolutionary bases.

The Chinese Communist Party has developed itself on the basis of the workers' movement in China, in the struggles of the Chinese people for emancipation, and in the course of the revolutionary struggles against foreign imperialist oppression of the Chinese nation on the one hand and against domestic feudalism oppression of the masses of the Chinese people on the other. It has grown in the course of the revolutionary struggles against all the enemies of the Chinese nation and people. The history of our Party is the history of the Chinese working class uniting and leading the masses of the Chinese people in the revolutionary struggles against foreign imperialism which oppressed the Chinese nation, against domestic feudalism which oppressed the people and against their lackeys and hidden agents.

The Chinese Communist Party has developed and steeled itself in three great revolutionary wars—the Northern Expedition, the Agrarian Revolution, and the Anti-Japanese War. In other words, the Chinese Communist Party has developed and steeled itself in the course of protracted armed struggle. A lengthy period of the history of our Party is the history of these three revolutionary wars.

The Chinese Communist Party has grown up in the course of uniting closely with the broad masses of peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie. It has grown up in the course of uniting with the bourgeoisie to fight the common enemy and also in the course of conducting a many-sided struggle against the compromising, reactionary character of the bourgeoisie. The history of our Party is, therefore, the history of closely uniting with the broad masses of peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie. It is also the history of uniting with and struggling against the bourgeoisie.

The Chinese Communist Party has grown up in the course of establishing great revolutionary bases, particularly the revolutionary bases in the rural districts. It has grown up in the course of carrying out in these bases the political, military, economic and cultural construction of New Democracy. For a very long time the history of our Party was the history of building up bases for the contemporary Chinese revolution, and particularly the revolutionary bases in the rural districts. It is the history of successfully experimenting in these bases with different kinds of New Democratic reform and construc-

tion, thereby educating our Party and the people throughout the country.

Lastly, the Chinese Communist Party, as represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has developed and consolidated itself through its struggles against inner-Party opportunism which ignored or misunderstood the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, against dogmatism, against empiricism, against Chen Tu-hsiu-ism, against Li Li-san's line, against the subsequent "Left" line, and against capitulationism. It has developed and consolidated itself through uniting more closely the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The history of our Party is the history of opposing and crushing inner-Party opportunism of all descriptions. It is the history of ceaselessly uniting the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution as represented by the Thought of Mao Tse-tung.

All this constitutes the concrete historical road our Party has traversed.

This historical road gives the best explanation of the character and motive forces of the present Chinese revolution, its uneven development, its protracted nature, the complexity of its struggle, and the importance of armed struggle and of revolutionary bases in the rural districts. It indicates that the development of the Chinese revolution has its own special features. It explains the decisive role which the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the proletariat is playing in this revolution.



The historical road our Party has traversed is the historical road which our Party leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has long defined on the basis of the characteristics of the Chinese revolution. The road marked out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is most correctly and most fully representative of the history of our Party and the contemporary revolutionary history of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people. In spite of the fact that at certain historical periods, it was impossible for Comrade Mao Tse-tung to determine formally and organisationally the action of the entire Party, these historical periods particularly demonstrated that the real history of our Party and the correct revolutionary orientation of the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese people were to be found where Comrade Mao Tse-tung was and they continued, existed and developed with Comrade Mao Tse-tung as their representative and as their centre of gravity, instead of at any other place or with any other people as their centre of gravity.

Our Party, guided by the Thought of Mao Tse-tung, has developed and steeled itself in the long course of the Chinese revolution and its special characteristics. It will, in the long years to come, continue to fight for its goal and develop and steel itself through more profound understanding and better use of these characteristics under the same guidance. That is why in the General Programme of the Party Constitution special emphasis is laid on these characteristics, which will remain until China's New Democratic revolution has won a complete victory on a nation-wide scale. Therefore, every Party member must constantly bear in mind these characteristics.

and must not forget them for a single moment if he is to avoid mistakes or commit fewer mistakes; otherwise many mistakes of the past might be repeated.

For example, ignorance of the New Democratic character of the Chinese revolution at the present period has resulted in Right or "Left" deviations in policy. Furthermore, lack of understanding of the extreme unevenness of the Chinese revolution and of the resultant complexity of the revolutionary struggles has given rise to over-centralisation, impractical formalism, simplification, generalisation, and lack of adequate flexibility in our work. Failure to understand the protracted nature of the Chinese revolution has resulted in inadequate spiritual preparation for the long-drawn-out hard struggles, which in turn has given rise to different forms of impetuosity or pessimism in difficult times. Failure to understand the importance of armed struggle in the Chinese revolution has led to underrating of, and lack of attention to, the acquisition of military knowledge. Failure to appreciate the importance of revolutionary bases in the rural districts has resulted in overstressing an urban point of view under rural circumstances as well as in neglecting rural work. On the other hand, failure to appreciate the importance of city work at certain periods of time has led to lack of concern for city work and clinging on to rural conservatism. Failure to realise the necessity of carrying on long-term and patient work among all sections of the masses of the people has given birth to reckless practices of adventurism and commandism.

It is quite insufficient for our comrades to understand these characteristics merely in a general sense. It is

necessary to take them into consideration in all our work and in dealing with every concrete issue if we are to avoid or minimise mistakes. These characteristics should therefore become part of our Party's fundamental programme or at least the fundamental programme for the present stage.

#### **4. Regarding the Mass Line of the Party**

The General Programme and detailed provisions of the Party Constitution lay particular stress on the Party's mass line. This is another feature of the present revised Constitution, because the mass line is a fundamental political and organisational line of our Party. This is to say that all our Party organisations and all our Party work must be closely linked up with the masses of the people.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly pointed out to us that the mass line should be applied in all our work. In his report to this Congress he again urged us in most sincere terms to do our work by following the mass line. He said that one striking feature distinguishing us Communists from any other political party was our very close contact with the broadest masses of the people. He asked us "to serve the Chinese people with all our heart and soul, not to become isolated from the masses for a single moment, to proceed in all matters from the interests of the people instead of one's own personal interests or the interests of a small group."

He wanted our comrades to understand that "the highest criterion for all words and deeds of a Communist

is whether or not such words and deeds conform to the greatest good of the broadest masses of the people and whether or not they are supported by the broadest masses." He further told us that we are invincible "as long as we rely upon the people, believe firmly in their boundless creative power, have faith in them and unite as one with them." He pointed out that commandism is wrong in all phases of work because it goes beyond the level of the consciousness of the masses, violates the voluntary principle of the masses, and is an expression of impetuosity. "In all our work," he added, "tailism is also wrong, because it falls behind the level of the consciousness of the masses, violates the principle of leading the masses one step forward, and is an expression of sluggishness." All these teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung are extremely important and should be carefully studied and grasped and earnestly carried out by every Party member.

This mass line of ours is possible only with a proletarian party. Our mass line is a class line, a mass line of the proletariat. Our views with regard to the people and our relationship to them differ basically from those of the exploiting classes.

We fully understand the decisive role which the vanguard of the masses of the people has to play in the struggle for emancipation of the people. The complete emancipation of the masses of the people is possible only when they have such a vanguard of their own as our Party; otherwise they would be without revolutionary leadership. Without such a revolutionary leadership, the people's revolution would meet with failure. Only under the firm and correct leadership of our Party and

only by carrying on the struggle in the political direction our Party has pointed out, can the Chinese people achieve their complete emancipation.

This is one aspect of the problem.

The other aspect is that the vanguard of the masses of the people must establish proper and close relations with the masses of the people. It must stand for the people's interests in every field, first of all, in the political field. It must adopt a correct attitude towards the people and lead them by correct methods. Only by so doing can the vanguard be closely united with the masses of the people; otherwise it is quite possible that the vanguard will become isolated from the masses of the people. In that case, the vanguard would not be the vanguard of the people. It would not only fail to perform its task of emancipating the masses of the people, but would also run the risk of being wiped out by the enemy. This means that the vanguard of the masses must have a thorough-going and clear-cut mass line in all its work.

What are the important circumstances under which the vanguard would become isolated from the masses of the people?

First of all, the vanguard would become isolated from the masses if it failed to perform its tasks as the vanguard of the people, if it failed to represent at all times and under all circumstances the maximum interests of the broadest possible masses of the people, if it failed to set forth in time correct tasks, policies and style of work, if it failed to stick to the truth and if it failed to

correct in time its mistakes. In other words, tailism and laissez-faire would lead to isolation from the masses of the people.

In our Party, there has been as yet no open advocacy of spontaneity or any tailist "theory" of following at the heels of the spontaneous mass movement or dispensing with the leadership of the proletarian party. But Chen Tu-hsiu-ism in the latter period of the Great Revolution of 1925-27 and capitulationism in the early period of the Anti-Japanese War were both a kind of tailism, lagging far behind the mass revolutionary movement of the time, and incapable of setting forth correct tasks, policies, or style of work to represent the people or inspire them to go forward, with the result that isolation from the people ensued and the revolution sustained losses and defeat. In addition, some comrades have committed errors of a tailist nature in various fields of their work.

For instance, some comrades in their practical work regarded the Party as an Army, Government, or trade union appendage, instead of as the highest form of class organisation. Others in their practical work displayed inertia and conventionalism, remained satisfied with things as they were, let things run their own course and lost their keenness for making improvements. Instead of putting forward correct tasks, policies and style of work on the basis of the actual conditions of the masses at the given time and at the given place, in order to lead them forward, they violated the principle of leading the masses one step forward. They yielded to the backward ideas of the masses and reduced themselves to the level of an ordinary worker, peasant or even backward element

thus abandoning their vanguard role. Sometimes they compromised with the incorrect ideas of the masses and followed at the tail of spontaneous mass movements, failing to give the masses correct and farsighted leadership. This tendency is bound to isolate us from the broad masses, because the masses do not need such people to lead them.

Secondly, the vanguard will isolate itself from the masses of the people, if and when its attitude and methods of leadership are incorrect, if it fails to make the masses realise the correctness of the Party's slogans through their own experiences and to act accordingly, or if the slogans and policy are too advanced or too "left," or the forms of struggle and organisation it advocates are either impossible under the circumstances or unacceptable to the masses. In other words, commandism, adventurism and closed-door-ism would invariably lead to isolation from the masses.

Some comrades have committed mistakes of commandism, adventurism and closed-door-ism. Some, for instance, have been irresponsible toward the masses in their work. They did not believe that it was the masses who were emancipating themselves. Instead, they stood above the masses to fight in their stead, to bestow emancipation on the masses, and to issue orders. Such comrades suffered from impetuosity. Being only superficially active, they did not know how to transform the Party's slogans and tasks into those of the people, or how to enlighten the masses and properly wait for their awakening. Nor did they know how to take steps to bring about a natural revolutionisation of the masses. They tried

to compel the masses to accept the Party's slogans and tasks simply by issuing arbitrary orders and forcing the masses into action. Thus they violated the voluntary principle regarding the masses. Particularly when slogans too advanced and policies too "left" had aroused doubts and dissatisfaction among the masses, they sought all the more to carry on their work by means of issuing orders, by coercion or even by punishment. The worst kind of such practices was that wherever they went they would try to find faults, shortcomings and bad examples, subjecting these to criticism, condemnation, and punishment in order to frighten the people and the cadres, and in order to push forward the work. They refused to find out the good points and good examples, to study, develop and systematise them. They neither commended the heroes and model workers, nor recommended or disseminated the good experiences in order to encourage the progress of the Party members and the people, and in order to overcome errors and defects there. They struck blows at others everywhere and did things simply by issuing orders. Instead of learning from the masses of the people and benefitting by the people's new ideas and inventions they forced others to do things in their way. Such a tendency led to serious isolation from the masses of the people and aroused the resentment of the masses against them or even against the entire Party.

In addition to the two tendencies mentioned above, other tendencies of bureaucracy and warlordism have been noticeable in some of our comrades. Such tendencies also mean serious isolation from the masses of the people.



A bureaucratic tendency was manifested by some comrades in their lack of the standpoint of serving the people and in their lack of a sense of responsibility to the people and to the Party. Typical examples are those who loafed around all day long, doing nothing but issue orders. They did not investigate, study or learn from the masses. They rejected criticism from the masses, ignored the rights of the people, or even asked the people to serve them. For their own benefit they made no scruple of sacrificing the interests of the people. They became corrupt and degenerate and lorded it over the people.

The tendency of warlordism was manifested in the ignorance, on the part of some comrades, of the fact that our army was an army or an armed force of the people, a most important instrument of the people for defeating the enemies and liberating themselves. Instead, they regarded the army as a special power standing outside or above the people, or as an instrument for building up the personal influence or position of a small number of people. As a consequence, they introduced bureaucratic and dictatorial modes of work into the people's army.

The characteristics of such practices, as manifested in the relations between officers and men and between upper and lower ranks, were to command the army by issuing orders and meting out punishment, instead of relying upon the army's consciousness and initiative. Secondly, such characteristics were manifested in the relations between the army and the people. In dealing with the people, some comrades did not ensure that their subordinates pay strict attention to discipline. These

comrades lacked feelings of love for the people. Instead, the people were subjected to coercion, violence and insults, thus estranging them from the army. Thirdly, such characteristics were manifested in a purely military approach to the relationship between the revolutionary army and the revolutionary Government, seeking to place the army above the Government and to run the Government by the army, just as a warlord would do.

It is very clear that such a tendency has nothing whatsoever in common with a people's army.

The wrong tendencies to isolation from the masses as referred to earlier arose in our Party out of the cultural backwardness of the toiling people as well as of the influence exerted by the exploiting classes of the old society. The petty bourgeois elements and other elements in our Party who were long separated from social production were often susceptible to such influences, resulting in various tendencies of isolation from the masses. These tendencies have their own deep social origin and were even mentioned in the General Programme of our Party Constitution. Further development of the revolution, involving much harder work, will offer greater opportunities for the growth of such tendencies among us. We must, therefore, wage a constant struggle against them in order to maintain and strengthen constantly our link with the broad masses of the people. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung puts it, we must constantly "sweep the floor and wash our faces" so that political dust and dirt and political germs may not cloud or poison the minds of our comrades or the body of our Party.

The masses of the people must have their own powerful vanguard, which on its part must be most closely united with the broadest possible masses of the people. Only thus will the emancipation of the masses of the people be possible. Therefore, our Party, the vanguard of the Chinese people, must constantly liquidate such tendencies which estrange the masses, as referred to earlier and must unite more closely with the masses of the people. Such a line is our Party's mass line, the mass line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is a line which is designed to establish correct relationships between our Party and the people. It is a line which enables our Party to adopt a correct attitude and correct methods for leading the masses of the people. It is a line which aims at establishing a correct relationship between our Party's leading bodies and individual leaders on the one hand and the masses of the people they lead on the other.

According to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the policy and methods of work of our Party must originate from the masses and go back to the masses. In other words, our Party's organisational, as well as its political line, should come correctly from the masses and go back correctly to the masses. Our Party's correct political line can not be separated from its correct organisational line. Although partial, temporary disharmony may occur between these two, it is impossible to imagine a correct political line existing alongside an incorrect organisational line or vice versa. The one cannot be isolated from the other. By a correct organisational line is meant the mass line of the Party, the line of intimately linking the Party's leading cadres with the broad masses inside

and outside the Party, a two-way process between the Party and the masses, a line of combining general appeals with individual guidance as a method of leadership.

In order to carry out thoroughly the mass line of our Party and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the General Programme and provisions of the Party Constitution have particularly drawn attention to the following mass standpoints which must be instilled in the mind of every Party member.

Firstly, there is the standpoint that everything is for the masses, and for serving wholeheartedly the masses. From its very beginning, our Party was founded to serve the people. All the sacrifices, efforts, and struggles of Party members have been made for the welfare and emancipation of the masses of the people and for nothing else. This is the greatest glory of us Communists. This is something we are particularly proud of. Hence, any standpoint must be wrong if it sacrifices the interests of the people for personal interests or for the interests of small cliques. So long as they are devoted to their duty and have a more or less good record, all our Party members and those who have joined the revolutionary ranks are serving the people, regardless of whether or not they are aware of it, whether they occupy important, leading positions or are merely privates, cooks, or grooms. They are all of them directly or indirectly in the service of the people at different posts, and are therefore equal and honourable. We must develop, among all Party members and personnel, a higher level of consciousness so that they may serve the people and hold themselves

responsible to the people on the basis of a higher level of consciousness.

Secondly, there is the standpoint of assuming full responsibility to the masses of the people. As we serve the people we must hold ourselves responsible to them and enable them to obtain real benefit and emancipation through our service. We must try our best to avoid mistakes or reduce them to a minimum in order not to do harm to the people or cause loss to them. The tasks, policies, and style of work we set forth must all be correct in order to benefit the people otherwise harm will be done to the people's interests. In that case we must earnestly practice self-criticism for prompt rectification. This means that we must know how to serve the people and serve them well and not badly. Hence, under no circumstances should we adopt an easy-going attitude toward the people. We must be seriously responsible to them.

It is also necessary to understand the unity between responsibility to the people and responsibility to the leading bodies of our Party. This means that our Party members in carrying out the instructions of a leading body or individual leaders of the Party must be held responsible to such leading body or individual leaders. But it would be wrong to separate responsibility to the Party leadership from responsibility to the people. Only by holding oneself responsible to the people can one say that one has assumed the highest and final responsibility. It must be understood that the interests of the Party are identical with the interests of the people. Whatever

benefits the people benefits the Party and must be done by every Party member with heart and soul. Likewise, whatever injures the people injures the Party and must be opposed or avoided by every Party member. The interests of the people are the very interests of the Party. The Party has no particular interests of its own other than the people's interests. The maximum good for the greatest number of people is the highest criterion of truth and consequently the highest criterion of all the activities of our Party members. Any Party member who is responsible to the people is also responsible to the Party, and he who is irresponsible to the people is most irresponsible of all to the Party. What must be understood is the unity between responsibility to the Party and responsibility to the people. They should be unified, and not separated, or even set against each other.

When shortcomings or mistakes are discovered in the directives of the leadership or of individual leaders in regard to tasks, policies or style of work, suggestions for correction should be made with a sense of responsibility to the people. It is essential to distinguish between right and wrong, and not to take things easy, otherwise it would mean irresponsibility both to the people and to the Party.

The discipline of the Party must be observed and its unity maintained, because maintenance of such discipline and unity is serving the basic interest of the Chinese people. There must be no undermining of the discipline or unity of the Party on the pretext of assuming responsibility to the people. Nevertheless, any short-

coming or error committed by a leading body or individual leaders must be corrected. It is the duty as well as the right of every Party member to help in this respect, for any such shortcomings or errors are disadvantageous to the people, hence also to the Party. Our Party membership's spirit of sincere self-criticism, a critical attitude toward one's own errors and those of the leadership, and a spirit of observing Party discipline, are part of the spirit of being responsible to the people.

Thirdly, there is the standpoint of having faith in the people's self-emancipation. Comrade Mao Tse-tung constantly teaches us that the masses of the people are truly great, that their creative power is inexhaustible, that we are invincible only when we rely on them, that the people alone are the real makers of history, and that real history is the history of the masses of the people. Marx pointed out long ago that the toilers emancipate themselves. Their salvation depends neither upon Emperors, Gods, nor heroes but upon themselves, as the *International* says. This means that only through their own struggles and efforts can their emancipation be achieved, maintained and consolidated. It cannot be bestowed or granted by any outsider. Nor can it be fought for or secured through the efforts of any one except the people themselves. Hence, the standpoint of gratuitously bestowing emancipation on the masses or of fighting in their stead is wrong.

The masses of the people make their own history. Their emancipation must be based on their own consciousness and willingness. They select their own vanguard. And, under the leadership of this vanguard, they must

organise themselves and fight for their emancipation by their own efforts. Only then can they consciously secure the gains of their struggle and retain and consolidate them. The enemies of the people can be overthrown only by the people themselves. It cannot be done in any other way. Merely through the efforts of the vanguard and without the people's own genuine consciousness and mobilisation, emancipation of the people is impossible, history will not move forward, and nothing can be accomplished. Even such things as reduction in rent and interest, mutual aid in work, or cooperative societies, all of which concern the immediate interests of the people, will become just so much empty talk and so superficial that reduction appears only on paper and not in fact and that cooperative societies and mutual aid teams exist only in form unless they are consciously and voluntarily taken up by the masses themselves, instead of having such things bestowed upon them or organised for them by outsiders.

The cause of the Communists is nothing but the cause of the masses of the people. However correct our programme and policy may be, they cannot be realised without the direct support and consistent struggle of the masses.

With us, therefore, everything is dependent on and determined by the people's consciousness and self-activity without which we can accomplish nothing, and all our efforts will be in vain. But as long as we rely upon the consciousness and self-activity of the masses and as long as such consciousness and self-activity are genuine, then, with the addition of the Party's correct leadership, every



aspect of the great cause of the Party will finally triumph. Therefore, when the masses are not fully conscious, the duty of Communists—the vanguard of the masses of the people—in carrying out any kind of work is to develop their consciousness by every effective and suitable means. This is the first step in our work which must be well done no matter how difficult it is or how much time it will take.

Only when the first step has been taken can we enter upon the second step. In other words, when the masses have reached the necessary level of consciousness, it is then our responsibility to guide them in their action—to guide them to organise and to fight. When this is brought about we may further develop their consciousness through their actions. This is how we lead the masses step by step to fight for the basic slogans of the people as put forward by our Party. This is the utmost part that we Communists and all advanced elements and outstanding figures among the masses can play in the people's cause. Nothing more than this can be expected. All kinds of errors, such as acting-the-hero, commandism, managing things in an arbitrary fashion and bestowing favours on the masses may ensue if attempts are made to perform a greater part.

In the struggle for the emancipation of the people, a Communist should act and can only act as a leader or guide to the masses of the people. He should not and can not act as a "hero" to replace the people in the task of conquering the world. In their revolutionary struggle, the masses of the people are in urgent need of farsighted and steadfast leaders and guides as an indispensable

factor for their success. But they do not need "heroes" to conquer the world for them, for such "heroes" isolated from the masses can achieve nothing for the cause of emancipation of the people.

Fourthly, there is the standpoint of learning from the masses of the people. In order to serve the people well, to kindle their consciousness and to give guidance to their actions, we Communists must, first of all, possess certain qualities. We must have foresight, or forethought. This means that we must be the harbingers of enlightenment, the only people capable of helping the less enlightened. Aside from our whole-hearted devotion to the cause of the people's emancipation, our inexhaustible enthusiasm and our spirit of sacrifice, we must have adequate knowledge and must be sufficiently experienced and vigilant before we can successfully raise the people's consciousness, lead their actions and serve them well. Learning is indispensable, if we are to acquire knowledge, experience and foresight.

We may enrich our knowledge by studying Marxist-Leninist theories and by studying the history and lessons of the people's struggles in foreign lands. We can also learn from our enemies. But what is most important is to learn from the masses of the people, since their knowledge and experiences are the most abundant and most practical and their creative power is the greatest. This is why Comrade Mao Tse-tung has time and again told us to learn from the masses before we can educate them.

Only when our comrades have humbly learnt from the masses of the people, crystallised the knowledge and experience of the people and turned it into systematic

knowledge of a higher order, will they be able to take positive steps to develop the consciousness of the people and give guidance to the people's activities. It will certainly be futile, if instead we should self-conceitedly devise a set of schemes out of our own imagination, or mechanically introduce a set of schemes from historical or foreign experiences in order to develop the consciousness of the masses and to guide them. In order to learn unceasingly from the masses, we must not stand isolated from the people for a single moment. If we do so our knowledge will be greatly limited and certainly we can not be intelligent, informed, capable, or competent to give them leadership.

"An ordinary person is ipso facto often nearer to truth than some of our higher bodies."

"In order to give leadership to our cause, it is far from enough to rely solely on the experiences of our own or of the leaders. In order to exercise correct leadership, to the experiences of the leaders, there must be added the experiences of the rank and file of the Party membership, of the working class, of the toilers, as well as of the so-called 'persons of no consequence'. . ."

To achieve this, "there must be intimate connections between the leaders and the masses, between the leaders and the rank and file of the Party membership, the working class, the peasantry, and the working intelligentsia."

"To maintain and consolidate the connections with the masses, to be ever-ready and willing to listen to the voice of the masses—this is wherein lies the strength of

the Bolshevik leadership and the reason for its sure success." (Selected Works of Stalin, Vol. V. p. 322).

Such is Stalin's advice to the Communists of the Soviet Union. It is a universal truth.

The tasks of leaders and leading bodies are to exercise correct leadership, have a correct idea of the situation, grasp its essence, set forth the tasks, make decisions, and mobilise and organise the masses to carry out these decisions as well as to organise them to supervise their execution. To do this well, it is necessary to learn from the masses and follow the line of "coming from the masses" and "going back to the masses", otherwise no leadership can be satisfactorily exercised.

This is what the standpoint of learning from the masses means.

The standpoints of "everything for the people", of holding oneself responsible to the people, of having faith in the people's ability to emancipate themselves, and of learning from the people constitute our mass standpoints. These are the standpoints of the vanguard of the people in regard to the people. Only with such standpoints, such firm and unequivocal mass standpoints, can our comrades carry out a clear-cut mass line in their work and exercise correct leadership.

It is wrong for some comrades to regard as mass work only the work of such mass organisations as trade unions or peasant leagues to the exclusion of all others.

All activities of the Party or those under its leadership are activities of the masses of the people, and should be carried out, without exception, through the masses, with the standpoints and on the basis of the mass line. The mass line and mass standpoints are required for each and every activity.

Work in our Party is also a kind of mass work and should be carried out according to that line, since the Party itself is part of the masses of the people and furthermore it is dedicated to serving the people.

Our work in the Army is also a kind of mass work to be carried out according to the mass line, since the Army itself is part and parcel of the masses of the people dedicated to serving the people.

Of course, different lines of work have their particular forms of procedure which should not be confused with each other. Thus, forms of work for trade unions and peasant leagues should be distinguished from those for the Party and the Army. Nevertheless, all of them are mass work.

Naturally, the masses of the people are not all alike and our work is therefore varied and intricate. Our comrades, in their respective fields, must each directly serve a specific section of the people, such as the workers of a factory, the farmers of a village, the staff members of an office, the soldiers of an Army unit, or just a handful of people. However, they have a common object: serving the Chinese people as a whole.

Hence, our comrades ought to grasp correctly the relationship between part and whole, so that while direct-

ly engaged in partial activities and serving a section of the people, they are indirectly promoting and strengthening the entire revolutionary cause and serving the entire people. Their standpoint must cover both part and whole. It is wrong to keep an eye only on the part to the neglect of the whole or vice versa. The parts and the whole must be unified.

When there is conflict between the partial, temporary interests of the masses of the people and their total, long-range interests, the former must be subordinated to the latter. This means that a small reason must be subordinated to a big reason, and a small principle to a big principle. This is a very intricate problem; however, there can be a thorough-going mass line only when our comrades know how to think and how to correctly discern and coordinate the people's partial and basic interests under all specific situations. Otherwise, they may consciously or unconsciously support the temporary interests of a section of the people in opposition to the long-range interests of the majority of the people, thus isolating themselves from the masses of the people.

In all sections of the masses there are generally to be found the relatively active elements, the intermediate elements and the backward elements. In the initial stages the active elements are usually in the minority, while the intermediate and the backward elements make up the broad masses. In accordance with the mass line, the majority, that is, the intermediate and the backward elements, must be taken care of, otherwise the advanced sections will become isolated and nothing can be done

satisfactorily. The slogans of action and the forms of struggle and of organisation we put forward before the masses must be acceptable to the intermediate and the backward elements. The development of the self-consciousness and self-activity of the masses concerns chiefly these people. A mass movement is possible only when these people are awakened and inspired to action.

We must pay particular attention to educating, uniting and organising the active elements so that they may become the nucleus of leadership among the masses. However, it must be clearly understood that we are not organising the active elements merely for their own sake and that it is absolutely impermissible to isolate these elements from the intermediate and the backward masses. Our sole intention is to attract and set in motion the intermediate and backward elements through the active elements. In other words, it is for rallying the broadest possible masses that the active elements are to be organised. If the intermediate and backward masses are not yet awakened, we must know how to enlighten them as well as how to wait for them. If we are unwilling to wait but recklessly rush forward with a small number of the active elements following us we would isolate ourselves from the masses and end in failure.

The peasantry constitutes over 80 per cent of China's population. Taking the nation as a whole, consideration for the majority of the masses of the people mainly implies consideration for the peasantry. Our mass standpoint is intimately connected with our rural standpoint. Under the present conditions the Chinese working class

will not be able to fulfil its own task if it ignores China's peasantry or if it does not attach special importance to the emancipation of the rural districts.

In our work it is all the more necessary to combine individual guidance with general directives and to set a whole campaign in motion by breaking through at one point, in view of the rather low cultural level of the masses of the Chinese peasantry and other sections of the people, except for the intelligentsia. General directives alone will never succeed with masses of a low cultural level. This is due to the fact that the masses, especially the peasantry, usually consider problems on the basis of their personal experiences instead of on the basis of our general propaganda and slogans. In our work we should break through at one point to give an example to the masses and let them see and understand things by themselves. Only by giving demonstrative examples to the masses can we encourage them, particularly the intermediate and backward elements, by affording them the opportunities and facilities to understand the problems, thereby instilling in them confidence and courage to act under our Party's slogans and to culminate in an upsurge of mass enthusiasm.

The reason that recently army heroes, labour heroes and model workers in different places are playing an outstanding role and have become the best propagandists and organisers of the masses is due to the very fact that through such living personalities, examples, and experiences familiar to the people the masses are enabled to



understand the issues, thus heightening their consciousness and self-confidence. This also explains why revolutionary reconstruction in China's revolutionary bases is playing an educational and enlightening role for the people of the whole nation and is developing the entire nation's consciousness and self-confidence. The same is true of a leadership's breaking through at one point in order to draw concrete experiences for the reinforcement of its general directives. It is difficult for the masses to understand general directives which are not borne out by concrete experiences familiar to them.

Thus we must take care of the whole and the majority, but reject closed-door-ism and sectarianism. We want close connections with the masses, but we are against bureaucracy and warlordism.

We should lead the masses forward, but there should be no commandism. We should be intimately connected with the masses, but we should reject tailism. We should start from the level already attained by the masses in developing their consciousness and leading them forward. We must adjust the highest principles to the greatest possible connections with the masses in our work. Such is our mass line. This is, of course, difficult to do. But it is the only way to become a good Marxist and Communist.

So much for the explanation of the General Programme.

## PARTY MEMBERSHIP

The Party Constitution provides that a person may be admitted as a Party member only after attaining the age of eighteen. This is because a person generally becomes relatively firm in political judgment only after that age.

Persons under eighteen who were admitted into the Party before the revision of the Constitution shall retain their membership.

A youth who is politically mature at an earlier age, that is, one who is qualified for membership before eighteen, may be specially accepted as a candidate-member, provided it is deemed a loss to the Party if he or she is not recruited. However, the change to full membership can be effected only after he or she has reached eighteen.

Besides the provision of age in the admission of new members, the Party Constitution classifies the persons to be admitted into four categories in accordance with their respective social status. Such classification is necessary in view of the present social conditions in China.

The first category consists of workers, coolies, farm hands, poor peasants, city poor, and revolutionary soldiers. The requirements for those recommending them as well as their terms of candidature are comparatively moderate. This means that there are no special restrictions on the admission into the Party of proletarian and semi-proletarian elements. Persons brought up in our revolutionary ranks from childhood are accorded the same treatment.

By city poor are meant bankrupt handicraftsmen, peddlers, peasants who are unsuccessful in their attempts to get jobs in the cities, and coolies who depend upon casual employment for their subsistence.

The second category consists of revolutionaries from the petty bourgeoisie whose admission should be recommended by comparatively more experienced Party members and whose term of candidature is one year. This is due to the fact that the ideology of people from this social stratum is usually more complicated, and they often have misgivings about the discipline of our Party and participation in serious revolutionary struggles. Therefore, there should be a longer term of candidature with more experienced Party members making the recommendation.

The term "salaried employees" in this category as used in the Constitution does not include high-ranking officials of the old regime.

Since the Chinese revolution has not yet succeeded on a nationwide scale and since in the greater part of China our Party remains underground, there are large

numbers of revolutionaries who want to join our Party but cannot find the way. Therefore, the Party Constitution provides that, in areas newly won over to the revolution, persons of the first and second categories may be admitted by temporarily lowering the qualifications for persons making the recommendation and also by shortening the terms of candidature. But such temporary measures shall be subject to the decision of the Party committee of a province or border region.

The third category consists of revolutionaries who formerly belonged to the middle and upper strata of the exploiting classes whose ideology is even more complicated, and who find it more difficult to accept the Programme and discipline of our Party. Therefore, the Constitution provides that their applications for joining the Party must be recommended by experienced Party members and approved by a higher Party committee while their term of candidature is two years.

The fourth category consists of such persons who have accepted other political faiths and joined other political parties or groups. The Party Constitution provides that their applications for joining the Party must be recommended by even more experienced Party members and their admission shall be effected only after being investigated and approved by a still higher Party committee. However, there should be a distinction between an ordinary member, a relatively responsible member, and a highly important responsible member of another political party. As to a person who can prove that he joined the Kuomintang under coercion, or through group enrolment against his will, or without his voluntary con-

sent, and that he has not participated in its political activities after joining it, he shall be admitted into our Party in accordance with the procedures applicable to his social status, instead of being treated as a person with other political affiliations.

Members of all other political parties shall, generally speaking, be admitted into our Party only after they have left their respective parties.

Members of certain social organisations such as trade unions, peasant leagues or cultural institutions who have not joined any political party or group shall be admitted according to their respective social status.

A former member of our Party applying for re-admission after leaving the Party is to follow the procedure for the fourth category, as such a person having displayed political vacillation should have the recommendation of more experienced Party members and should be investigated by a higher Party committee. But his term of candidature may generally be shortened.

Should a member apply for reinstatement because of having been forced to lose contact with the Party, he is to be reinstated immediately after his application has been verified by the Party committee of a province or border region or at any higher level, without having to go through the procedure required of a new member.

It is provided in the Constitution that each new member should go through the procedure for admission individually, which means that he or she must apply in person, sign the application-form, and have responsible

letters of recommendation from the Party members making the recommendation. His or her application should be discussed and decided upon by a general membership meeting of a Party branch and approved by a competent higher Party committee. Membership through group enrolment shall be considered null and void. The ceremony of admission, when necessary, may vary from place to place.

The responsibilities of those making the recommendation, and of the Party committees deciding on and approving the admission of a new Party member are provided for in the Constitution. Such provisions are very important and must be observed scrupulously by the Party committees at all levels concerned as some have failed in this respect.

Since the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War, our Party has developed tremendously with the enrolment of over one million members and the establishment of nearly a thousand county Party committees and several tens of thousands of Party branches, thereby having organised and led the ninety-five million people in the Liberated Areas in waging the heroic war, and led the people's revolutionary struggles in territories under Japanese or Kuomintang rule. These are brilliant achievements. But shortcomings and mistakes have also occurred in recruiting members and in consolidating Party organisations by some Party committees.

Some of the Party committees, especially such higher committees as provincial, border regional, regional, and county committees, lacked responsible leadership,

concrete work, concrete guidance and summing-up of experiences. In spite of the fact that the enrolment of new members is of vital importance for the building up of the Party they simply assigned this work to the Party branches or sub-district Party committees or merely fixed quotas for enrolment with a time-limit for the Party branches or sub-district Party committees. As a result, the matter was left to take its own course without any leadership. It even happened that persons lacking in integrity, political reliability, experience in Party-building, and without verified records, were entrusted to take charge of the recruiting of new members and of establishing Party organisations at the bottom, thus doing considerable damage to the Party's organisational purity and to its rigidity. Under such conditions not only unreliable and vicious elements of all kinds might sneak into our Party, but a number of branches have appeared with an undesirable composition. Such occurrences in our branches have been evidently the result of lack of leadership in Party affairs on the part of higher Party organisations. In order to put an end to such a state of things and forestall its recurrence, and in order to build up an advanced party of the working class, the Party committees at all levels and especially the higher Party committees should raise membership recruiting to the position of importance it deserves. It is also necessary to sum up past experiences in order to place this work on the right track.

What kind of people in the villages should be admitted into the Party? They should be those who have displayed their activity and their integrity and purity

of ideology in struggles against the enemy, in the struggles for the reduction of rent and interest, in the production campaign, and in other revolutionary struggles. Where such struggles or campaigns have not been developed, and consequently no such elements are in evidence, then, except for the recruiting of individual conscious elements, there should be no large-scale recruiting drives. Only with the development of various movements and the emergence of a multitude of active elements and after an appropriate period of propaganda and investigation, may a relatively larger number of members be recruited from their midst. The development of such movements is quite uneven in the rural districts and the emergence and progress of active elements is by no means uniform, hence recruiting should vary from place to place with specific investigations and directives instead of by a general call for simultaneous action everywhere.

It is the same with recruiting Party members in the armed forces, factories, public offices, and schools, where only those who have displayed their qualities in battles and in other struggles may be admitted after a process of propaganda and education.

The Party's Programme, policy and Constitution should be popularised among the active elements of the masses before a membership drive is conducted.

What is most important is to place recruiting under the charge of functionaries who are completely reliable and experienced in Party-building as well as pure in ideology and style of work. They must have been tried and tested. Where such elements are lacking, they



should be reared and trained before being entrusted with this task, and there should be constant specific guidance and education in the course of the work. They are the organisers of the Party. There should be a number of tested and trained organisers in every regional, county, or sub-district Party committee to carry on this regular work. In confirming or approving the admission of new members they should be relied upon by these committees to conduct detailed conversations, to participate in investigation and verification. Membership recruiting may thus become a kind of regular work without losing the Party's leadership and control.

Membership recruiting is one of the regular activities of a Party branch. No branch may become inactive in this work simply because there are a group of such organisers. Yet, while recruiting must be carried on by the Party branches, there should be close guidance on the part of higher Party committees, which, in turn, rely upon such a group of tested organisers in the matter of guidance.

As provided in the Constitution, Party members recommending new members shall submit truthful and responsible information concerning the applicants for membership. The approval of the admission of new members by a higher Party committee must be done with a serious sense of responsibility and should never become a matter of mere formality.

In short, membership recruiting must be carried on and done properly so that the advanced elements among the masses are drawn into the Party. This requires not

only the activity of the Party branches and the rank and file of the Party membership, but also the correct leadership of higher Party committees.

Although the membership of the Party in the Liberated Areas is quite large, yet in more than half of the villages there are no Party branches and in a great number of these villages there is as yet not a single Party member. There are only a few border regions where the number of villages with Party branches exceed 50 per cent of the total, while in several other regions not a single Party member is to be found in more than 50 per cent of the villages.

In order to strengthen the leadership of the Party it is necessary to establish in each and every village a Party branch with a few to several scores of members. Therefore membership recruiting and the setting up of new Party branches must be continued in the Liberated Areas. Since considerable progress has been made in recent years in the villages where Party branches exist, through fighting the enemy and through struggles for rent and interest reduction, through production campaigns, through the Rectification of Three Styles and checking-up of cadres, there have emerged large numbers of active elements. It is from their midst that Party members should be recruited. In newly liberated territories there is an even greater necessity for membership recruiting drives. The recruitment of more members remains one of the Party's important organisational tasks in the Liberated Areas and should be properly carried out along the lines mentioned above. Past shortcomings should not be repeated.

Neither membership recruiting drives nor consolidation of Party organisations can proceed in complete separation from other activities or mass struggles. It is from the midst of the active elements in these activities and struggles that new Party members are drawn in. And it is only through these activities and struggles that Party branches and sub-district and county Party organisations are consolidated. Take a rural Party organisation for example. It can be consolidated only when it has led the masses to achieve a thorough-going rent and interest reduction and a general development of production, thus raising the class consciousness and the living standards of the masses; when it has organised a good militia to protect the people in the struggle with the enemy; when it has enabled the masses to understand the importance of holding political power through popular election campaigns; and when it has carried out effective cooperative, cultural and sanitary work. Such local Party organisations will be consolidated, since they will have forged their links with the masses through these activities and will have developed the consciousness of the masses and helped them to become experienced. Its own inner solidarity will also have been reinforced, and it will have acquired a better understanding of Party policy and gained more practical experience.

Terms of candidature for new Party members were not provided for in the Constitution passed by the Sixth National Party Congress, but in practice they were fixed locally from two months to one year, varying from place to place. Experience has shown that a candidature of two or three months means virtually nothing in the villages.

and it is also insignificant in public offices, schools or in the armed forces. Essential educational work for candidate-members has seldom been carried out.

The new Constitution provides for three different terms of candidature, half a year, one year, and two years. But the Party committee to which a new Party member belongs may prolong or shorten the term of candidature. The purpose of candidature as pointed out in the Constitution is to provide the candidate-member with elementary Party education and to ensure observation of the candidate-member's political qualities by the Party organisation. This is to say that attention must be paid to the education and observation of a new member as a part of the Party's organisational work, otherwise candidature will mean very little. It is extremely important to educate the candidate-members so as to help them to understand the Party Constitution, Programme, and policy and to build up a basic Communist outlook, such as the standpoints of organisation, of labour, of the masses, and a materialist standpoint which consists in seeking truth in the facts.

A Party member is free to leave the Party. Hence the Constitution provides that upon receipt of an application for leaving the Party, and after the applicant has returned all his or her Party documents and records, the Party branch should strike his or her name from the Party rolls. This indicates that leaving the Party is free while admission into the Party is conditional and not free.

The Constitution provides for expulsion of Party members. In the case of a member of a Party committee at any level, such expulsion should be decided upon by the said committee in plenary session and should be approved by its higher Party committee.

## THE DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF PARTY MEMBERS

The duties and rights of a Party member are provided for in the present revised Constitution. I think such provisions will guarantee a more normal development of our inner-Party life, raise the activity and sense of responsibility of our Party members for the cause of the Party, and assure the Party's unity of action.

As to the duties of a Party member, the Party Constitution first of all calls upon him or her to endeavour to raise the level of his or her consciousness and to understand the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung. This is because herein lies the basic key point as to whether a Party member is capable of making appropriate contributions to the people's cause. Without a high degree of consciousness and understanding of such fundamentals, he cannot do so consciously and properly, nor can he become a good Party member.

The Party's organisational unity is based on the premise of the ideological unity of members brought about by Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung, without which the Party's unity in organisation and action has no foundation, its discipline cannot be

established on a voluntary basis, disputes may occur, and the Party's fight for the people's cause may not succeed. Within the Party we stress the consciousness of Party members. All Party work is carried out mainly by relying on the consciousness and initiative of the Party members. While the Party promotes its membership's consciousness by every possible means, each Party member must do his or her utmost to learn by himself or herself, and to constantly raise his or her consciousness in order to have his or her own ideas clarified. Hence, this holds first place in the duties of a Party member.

Such a provision in the Party Constitution means that a member studies for no other purpose than for the people's cause. In other words, to learn Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung untiringly and to raise his or her consciousness and straighten out his or her ideas is a duty of every member to the Party and to the people which he or she cannot possibly shirk. If a Party member lacks an intense spirit and a correct attitude in his or her studies and becomes self-conceited without striving to make improvement, he or she will be assuming an irresponsible attitude toward the people's cause.

Next, the Constitution provides that every Party member must strictly observe Party discipline, participate actively in the political life of the Party and the revolutionary movement in China, carry out in practice the Party's policy and the decisions of Party organisations and fight against everything inside and outside the Party which is detrimental to the Party's interests. These duties of a Party member have long been accepted.

Here we stress the necessity of a Party member's active participation in the inner-Party political life, instead of merely emphasising the necessity of participation in its organisational life, for a Party member's concern about all things relating to the Party ought to be on a political basis and he ought to be politically responsible to the Party. Every Party member should take an active part in the elections, meetings, and decisions of the Party with a responsible attitude.

Under no circumstances may a Party member jeopardize the Party or do anything detrimental to the interests of the Party. He must also fight against anything and everything inside and outside the Party that endangers the interests of the Party.

The Constitution provides that it is the duty of every Party member to serve the masses of the people, to learn and report their needs in time, and to explain to them the Party's policy so as to strengthen the Party's connections with them.

The Constitution provides that a Party member should not only observe the discipline of the Party, but should also be exemplary in observing all laws and regulations of the revolutionary government and the discipline of all revolutionary organisations, including the revolutionary army, revolutionary mass organisations, and revolutionary institutions. Every Party member should set an example in his sphere of revolutionary work. Observance of the discipline of the Party should be coupled with observance of the discipline of the revolutionary government and organisations instead



of being set against each other. What the Party demands is that every one of its members should become a model in the observance of the people's revolutionary discipline and the discipline of the revolutionary government and organisations. Any member who fails to do so will not be observing the discipline of the Party. Some comrades who regard these two as incompatible should take effective steps to correct their mistakes.

Ours has long been a big Party and is especially so now. It is, moreover, a party in power in the Liberated Areas. Except for the small number of professional revolutionaries the overwhelming majority of the Party members should each have an occupation and master it. With only revolutionary zeal but without the mastery of any profession or trade, we cannot give leadership to the cause of the people, or build up a strong and prosperous country.

The Constitution provides that each Party member is entitled to the following rights:

- 1) To participate in free and practical discussion in Party meetings and in Party publications of problems concerning the carrying out of Party policy;
- 2) To elect and to be elected within the Party;
- 3) To submit proposals or statements to any Party organisation up to and including the Central Committee;
- 4) To criticize in Party meetings any Party functionary.

These provisions regarding membership rights will undoubtedly stimulate the activity and sense of responsibility of the rank and file of the Party, assure that the membership fights against everything detrimental to the Party's interests, and arm the Party so that it may effectively combat arrogant, self-conceited bureaucracy and commandism, improve the relations between the leadership and the followers and thereby improve Party work all along the line.

All these rights of the membership must be respected. But it often happens otherwise in practice. For example, some comrades devised various means to prevent the expression at meetings of ideas which were against them. They imposed various restrictions on elections. They forbade Party members to submit proposals or statements to higher Party organisations, delayed or withheld the transmission of Party members' appeals, forbade the criticism of responsible leaders by Party members at Party meetings. Some Party members even met with reprisals and blows by commandist and bureaucratic elements because of criticism and self-criticism. These harmful practices must be thoroughly eradicated.

While submission by the minority to the majority must be absolutely upheld in our Party, the proper rights of the minority should also be respected. A minority, under the condition that it pledges its submission to majority decisions, is entitled to state its views in opposition to the majority and to cast its dissenting votes at meetings. Party organisations must see to it that the minority shall not be wrongly treated or suffer at the hands of the majority. A minority is entitled to reserve its opinions

when it does not choose to give them up, provided it submits to the decisions of the majority.

The protection of such fundamental rights of a minority is required by inner-Party democracy and it is also indispensable. This is because under certain conditions truth may not be on the side of the majority but may lie with the minority. Under ordinary conditions, when the majority is right and the minority wrong, we grant such a right to the minority to give it a chance to correct its incorrect ideas in a proper manner.

The Party Constitution provides that criticism of any Party functionary, including any responsible member, at Party meetings is an inalienable right of every Party member. This provision is contrary to current practice in some places where criticism of responsible personnel is forbidden at Party meetings. It must be pointed out that this habit is bad and mischievous, as it encourages bureaucracy and commandism and paralyses the initiative and the sense of responsibility of the rank and file of the Party membership, and should therefore be corrected. As soon as this Congress has approved the provision in question, this habit shall no longer be permitted, and the prevention of a Party member's criticism of any Party functionary shall become illegal and be regarded as a violation of the Party Constitution.

It must be clearly understood that only when "a person may speak his mind freely without fear of giving any one offence" will it be possible for Party members to "make a clean breast of things without holding anything back." Only in this spirit can inner-Party solidarity and discipline be built up and strengthened.

All Party members are entitled to participate in all possible and necessary elections as well as to be elected to the leading bodies of the Party as provided in the Party Constitution without any other restriction than that stipulated by the Constitution.

Party committees at all levels should forward without delay all proposals, statements, and appeals submitted by any member to the Party's leading bodies.

Only through full protection of such democratic rights of the membership may unorganisational, non-political or unprincipled criticism, utterances or actions be diminished and gossip peter out and the criticism, utterances, or actions of the rank and file of the membership be guided along a responsible and correct path and in a direction beneficial to the cause of the Party.

Of course it is possible for anti-party elements and hidden spies and wreckers within the Party to try to carry on sabotage by taking advantage of inner-Party democracy. But the rank and file of the membership will not tolerate such activities and will act in conjunction with the leading bodies of the Party to eliminate such elements.

All shortcomings in our Party must be remedied. But this can be done and the Party's vitality preserved and developed to its highest degree only through the encouragement of the initiative and sense of responsibility of all Party members. The Party Constitution accords all Party members such rights to develop the initiative and sense of responsibility of the entire Party membership. I believe that the entire Party membership will make use of such rights to shoulder the responsibility for remedy-

ing all shortcomings, to promote all good practices in the Party, to advance Party activities, and to place our Party on a foundation never before so sound and powerful. Such is our hope.

## DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM WITHIN THE PARTY

Our Party is not simply the aggregate of its membership. It is a unified organic body established according to a definite principle. It is a combination of leaders and followers. It is an integration of the Party headquarters (the Central Committee), the Party organisations at all levels, and the broad membership constituted according to a definite principle of inner-Party democratic centralism.

Three Party members in a factory or village do not necessarily constitute a Party organisation. They must be organised according to the principle of democratic centralism. Under ordinary conditions, one of the three should be the group leader and the other two the members of the group, so that in all activities there will be a leader and two followers. Only then can it become a Party organisation. Such an organisation yields new strength. The strength of the proletariat lies in its organisation.

As laid down in the Party Constitution, democratic centralism means centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralised leadership. It is both

democratic and centralised. It reflects the relationship between the leadership and the followers, between higher and lower Party organisations, between individual Party members and the Party as a whole, and between the Party's Central Committee and Party organisations at all levels on the one hand and the rank and file Party members on the other.

Why do we say that the centralism of the Party is based on democracy? It means that the leading bodies of the Party are elected by the membership on a democratic basis and enjoy their confidence. It means that the directives and resolutions of the Party are centralised from the rank and file upward on a democratic basis as well as decided by them or their representatives, and are then persistently maintained and carried out by the leadership in conjunction with the rank and file. The authority of a leading body of the Party is given by the Party membership. Therefore, it is capable of exercising the power of centralised leadership on behalf of the membership in managing all Party affairs and of commanding the obedience of its lower organisations and of the Party membership. Law and order within the Party is built on the principle of submission by the individual to the organisation, submission of minorities to the majority, submission of lower organisations to higher organisations, and submission of all the divisional organisations of the Party to the Central Committee. This means that the Party's centralism is based on, instead of separated from, democracy. It is not dictatorship by individuals.

Why do we say that the Party's democracy is democracy under a centralised leadership? It means that

every Party meeting is to be convened by a leading body and proceeds under leadership. The adoption of every resolution or rule is preceded by thorough preparation and careful deliberation. Every election has a carefully prepared list of nominees. The Party as a whole has a unified Party Constitution, and a unified discipline which every Party member should observe, and a unified leading body, which must be obeyed by the entire membership. This means that inner-Party democracy is neither democracy without leadership, ultra-democracy, nor anarchy within the Party.

Democratic centralism within the Party is a system which unites the leadership of the Party with the broad rank and file of the Party membership. In other words, it is a system of crystallisation from the rank and file of the membership and of persistently carrying it out among the rank and file. It is an expression of the mass line within the Party.

Some comrades do not understand that centralism of the Party is based on democracy. Consequently, they separate their leadership from inner-Party democracy, and from the rank and file of the Party membership, labelling such a situation "centralism." They think that their authority as leaders needs no mandate from the Party membership but can be seized by themselves. They think their leading positions require neither election nor the confidence of the Party membership and the lower Party organisations but can be assumed by themselves. They think that their directives and resolutions need not be centralised and decided from the rank and file upward but can be made arbitrarily. They stand above the rank



and file of the Party membership, instead of joining with the rank and file. They command and control the Party, lording it over the Party organisations, instead of being within the organisation of the Party and obeying and submitting to the control of the Party. They want to act independently of the upper Party organisations in the name of inner-Party democracy, but they suppress the democratic rights of the Party membership and lower Party organisations in the name of inner-Party centralism. In fact, they observe neither democracy towards their subordinates nor centralism towards their superiors.

While others must obey and observe majority decisions and Party discipline, they, as leaders, feel entitled to do otherwise. They observe none of such basic organisational principles as submission by the individual to the organisation, submission of minorities to the majority, and submission of lower Party organisations to higher Party organisations. Party rules and resolutions, in their opinion, are written for ordinary Party members but not for them who are leaders. This is an anti-democratic, autocratic tendency in the Party and a reflection of the ideology of the privileged classes in society. It has nothing in common with our Party's centralism. It is a deviation which does exist within our Party and should be completely wiped out.

There are other comrades who do not understand that democracy inside the Party is democracy under centralised leadership. The result is that their actions are separated from the Party leadership and from the Party

organisations as a whole. They pay no attention to the overall situation or to the long-range interests of the Party as a whole. They act freely within the Party and without restraint, guided solely by their own interests and views. They neither closely observe Party discipline nor execute the decisions of the Party's leading bodies. They indulge in all kinds of unorganisational, non-political, and unprincipled utterances and actions. They either deliberately resort to exaggeration in order to spread dissension within the Party or engage in unlimited idle talk or debate, never taking the trouble to see whether or not there is a critical situation or an emergency. They even take advantage of the Party membership's temporary ignorance due to ideological unpreparedness, to take votes on their own proposals and to fulfil their own designs in the name of "majority."

This represents the idea of ultra-democracy which has nothing in common with our Party's democracy. The danger of such an idea, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, is that "it injures or even destroys the Party organisation, and weakens or even destroys the Party's fighting power."

The root of this idea "lies in petty bourgeois (small agricultural producers and small urban-capitalists) looseness which, when brought into the Party, becomes the idea of ultra-democracy, politically and organisationally. It is fundamentally incompatible with the fighting tasks of the proletariat and is indeed, objectively, a kind of counter-revolutionary idea. Those who embrace it will surely land in counter-revolution if they allow it to

develop, instead of checking it energetically." (Mao Tse-tung: *Resolution of the Kutien Conference*).

The tendency to anti-democratic absolutism and the presence of ultra-democracy inside the Party are two extremes of inner-Party life; yet the latter often appears as a kind of retribution for the former. Thus wherever there is a serious tendency to absolutism, there ultra-democracy may arise. Both are wrong tendencies detrimental to and destructive of genuine Party unity and solidarity. The sharp vigilance of the whole Party is required to guard against their occurrence.

Now we must fully develop the democratic way of life in our Party and bring about a high degree of inner-Party democracy. At the same time a high degree of centralism in Party leadership must also be brought about on the basis of highly developed democracy.

In his report to the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"Insufficient democratic life in our Party is a reflection of the absence of democratic life in our country. It definitely impedes the full development of the activity of the whole Party. Meanwhile it contributes to insufficient democracy in the mass movement and the united front." (Mao Tse-tung: *On The New Stage*).

The situation has changed since the Sixth Plenum. Both the democratic movement in China's Liberated Areas and inner-Party democracy have made considerable progress, especially through the Rectifica-

tion of Three Styles and the review of Party work. A penetrating and unhampered examination of Party history and the Party line by the cadres prior to the Seventh National Party Congress contributed to a substantial development of inner-Party democracy and made adequate preparations for the Congress. However, viewing the Party as a whole or viewing the local Party organisations separately, we may say that democratic life within the Party is still insufficient and requires further development. That is why many provisions are included in the Party Constitution to that end.

Although our Party is still waging a war, it must be stressed that this war is of a protracted nature. Until there are changes in our technical conditions and in the situation of our enemy, this war remains basically a kind of guerrilla warfare. Therefore, meetings and elections must be held so far as they are permissible under conditions of guerrilla warfare. There ought to be no unwarranted curtailment of inner-Party democracy on the pretext of the war situation.

In the Liberated Areas, whenever large meetings and elections can be held, Party Congresses at all levels and membership meetings must be called according to the provisions of the Constitution in order to elect the Party's leading bodies at all levels.

It is provided in the Party Constitution that in electing a leading body of the Party, not only has the presidium of the Congress the right to submit a list of candidates, but every delegation and every delegate must be assured of the right to nominate candidates and every

elector the right to criticise and change any candidate or candidates. The candidate list must be fully discussed. Voting must be carried out on the basis of the list either by secret ballot or by open vote.

It is provided in the Party Constitution that congresses of local Party organisations shall be convened once in every two years. This means that there must be a new election of the leading bodies of the local Party organisations once in every two years. Between congresses, the convocation of conferences to deliberate and decide on immediate tasks is necessary and possible. We have held various kinds of cadres' meetings to review and decide on our work without convening Party congresses or conferences, but such congresses and conferences should be convened in the future. Elections should be held only once in every two years, as too many elections are unnecessary and handicap our work. Therefore, in addition to Party congresses, Party conferences are needed to review and plan our work. Such conferences may be held once or twice a year according to local needs. Representatives to such conferences are to be selected by lower Party committees. Any such conference is empowered to remove and to elect in by-elections part of the members of the Party committee, but its decisions, and the removal or election of Party committee members must be approved by the said Party committee. This is because such a conference, notwithstanding its greater power than that of the cadres' meetings of the past, remains a lower organisation in relation to the said Party committee.

Provincial or border region, regional, county or sub-district Party Congresses and Conferences may be held by rotation. For instance, this year the province, border region and county may hold Party Congresses while the region and the sub-district hold Party Conferences. Next year the region and the sub-district may hold Party Congresses while the province, border region and county hold Party Conferences.

The Party committees at various levels should be broadened so as to include people in charge of various lines of work and cadres who maintain good connections with the masses of the people. According to the Constitution, a standing committee should be organised within each Party committee to take charge of the everyday work. The standing committee should also include cadres in charge of various lines of work so that it may become a regular leading nucleus of the various lines of work in its territory. A leading Party committee may, when necessary, avail itself of one or two assistant secretaries to help the secretary, so that all Party work may be taken care of without hitch. The committees at all levels should not be confined to inner-Party organisational work, but each should become a body directing all the activities in its territory. Inner-Party organisational work is only part of the work of a Party committee and it should be specially assigned to the committee's organisational department. Therefore, decisions and plans of work of each Party committee, when such decisions and plans of work are of a general character, should be discussed and decided upon by meetings of the entire committee. After decisions have been reached collectively,

assignment of individuals should be made to put these decisions into effect.

A crucial factor in broadening inner-Party democracy lies in the promotion of criticism and self-criticism among Party members and the cadres. Comrade Mao Tse-tung stresses self-criticism in his report, pointing out that serious self-criticism is an outstanding feature which distinguishes us from other political parties. We must develop a positive sense of responsibility among our Party members and cadres in regard to Party policy and Party work, thus enabling them to use their thinking power, raise problems boldly and properly and express their views. Those in charge of the leading bodies of the Party at all levels must be the first to practice thoroughgoing self-criticism on the defects and errors in the work carried out under their leadership. They must set an example to the Party membership and the cadres and be fully prepared in their minds to accept the criticism from others, never becoming impulsive or insolent when so confronted, or resorting to suppressive or punitive measures. Only in this way can the development of inner-Party democracy be encouraged. Otherwise, Party Congresses and Conferences, even if held regularly, may yet be just lifeless and undemocratic gatherings filled with dullness and repetitious speeches, whilst listening to reports and hand-raising may be nothing but pure routine.

Many of our comrades, including some in responsible positions, still do not know how to conduct a meeting or make it successful. Thus many meetings have ended in failure or produced poor results. Sometimes they become a serious burden on the Party membership and the

masses. It is obvious that the holding of too many meetings is not *ipso facto* democracy. Meetings must be well conducted, permeated with a spirit of democracy, criticism, and self-criticism. In this connection we must observe Comrade Mao Tse-tung's directives on "How to Make Party Members Interested in Attending Meetings," embodied in the *Resolution of the Kutien Conference*.

Experience proves that wherever a comrade in a responsible position seriously practices sincere and necessary self-criticism before the Party membership and the masses, criticism and self-criticism among the people and the Party membership there will be promoted, their activity heightened, their internal solidarity developed, their work improved, and their defects overcome, while their confidence in such a responsible comrade will increase instead of being undermined. Evidence along this line has been considerable in our Party and among the masses. The contrary is also true, including the lowering of the prestige of the responsible comrade, wherever he may be, when he lacks the spirit of self-criticism, refusing or fearing to criticise or reveal his own defects and errors, or even attempting to conceal them; when he expresses no gratitude after being criticised, and instead of being "pleased when told of one's own faults," he blushes to the ears and retorts with acrimonious remarks or looks for a chance for revenge. In such a situation, democracy and self-criticism among the Party members and the people will not be developed, activity among them will not be heightened, internal solidarity will not be consummated, defects will not be overcome, work will not



be improved, and the prestige of that comrade will vanish. Therefore, the responsible personnel of all local Party organisations shoulder a tremendous responsibility for the promotion and broadening of democracy within the Party.

The Party Constitution provides that the leading bodies of the Party organisations at all levels and their responsible personnel should submit reports at fixed intervals on their work to the Party members and lower Party organisations which elected them. In any such report, not only the current situation and the accomplishments but also the defects, weaknesses, and mistakes in the work should be discussed, with a request that the electors and lower Party organisations express their opinions and make comments. Experience shows that the responsibility for errors and shortcomings in the work of many lower Party organisations and Party cadres does not rest with them, but with the higher leading bodies, because many such errors and shortcomings are due to the failure of the higher leading bodies to assign tasks and clarify policy at the right moment, or to systematically and thoroughly tackle pertinent problems even if they have assigned tasks and clarified policy. Sometimes they are due to the fact that the tasks and policies advanced by the higher bodies contain mistakes. In such conditions it is highly inadvisable "to pass the buck," laying too much blame on the lower Party organisations, on the Party membership or on the cadres, because this will undoubtedly undermine their confidence and activity. Of course, the lower Party committees, Party members and cadres should conduct self-criticism if they have defects and mistakes.

The substance of inner-Party democracy is to promote the initiative and activity of the Party membership, raise their sense of responsibility to the cause of the Party, and encourage the Party membership or their representatives to fully express their opinions within the scope fixed by the Party Constitution, so that they may actively share the Party's leadership in the people's cause, and Party discipline and unity may be strengthened. Only through a genuine broadening of inner-Party democracy can voluntary Party discipline be strengthened, inner-Party centralism be established and consolidated, and the leading bodies exercise correct leadership. Thus, the Party Constitution provides that the leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall carry on their work in accordance with the principle of inner-Party democracy.

To give fully play to practising a high degree of democracy within the Party is by no means intended to weaken inner-Party centralism. On the contrary, a high degree of centralism is brought about simultaneously on the basis of a high degree of democratic practice. A high degree of democracy and a high degree of centralism are tied up with each other and are not in opposition to each other. Only through the practice of a high degree of democracy can a high degree of centralism of leadership be attained, and only under a high degree of centralism of leadership based on democracy can a high degree of democracy prevail. To assert that centralisation of the leadership can be weakened by practising a high degree of democracy is erroneous. Thus, the Constitution provides that when a leading body at any level carries on its work in accordance with the principle of

inner-Party democracy, it should not hamper inner-Party centralism or misconstrue inner-Party democracy, which is proper and beneficial to centralised action, for anarchistic tendencies—acts of autonomism and ultra-democracy.

Inner-Party democracy must be encouraged to proceed along lines beneficial to the cause of the Party (the cause of the people) and it should neither weaken the fighting will and fighting solidarity of the Party nor become a tool for saboteurs, anti-Party elements, splitters, opportunists and adventurers. Thus the Constitution provides that a thorough review of and debate on the policy and line of the whole Party or of a local Party organisation may be undertaken only under proper leadership, when time so permits. In other words, there must not be a state of emergency and it is so decided by the Party's Central or local leading body, as the case may be, or it is so proposed by a majority of lower Party organisations or by a higher Party organisation.

Inner-Party democracy must be broadened, but Party decisions must be carried out unconditionally. The submission of the Party membership to the Party organisation, lower Party organisations to higher Party organisations, the minorities to the majority and the divisional organisations of the Party to the centre—these principles as laid down in the Constitution must be observed unconditionally.

Some comrades make the carrying out of these principles contingent on such matters as their own acceptance of the correctness of the resolutions or instructions;

or the ability, position, length of Party membership and cultural level of their superior, whether he has treated them kindly or unkindly, or whether he belongs to the same group. It should be said that none of these conditions is permissible. A high degree of discipline and a high spirit of observing discipline on the part of a Communist can be seen only when he is facing danger or when there are serious differences over principle or personal matters between him and the Party. Only when he unconditionally carries out organisational principles even when he is in a minority can he be considered a highly disciplined and principled Party member who is mindful of the whole situation and understands the subordination of partial interests to those of the whole, of a small truth to the big truth and of the submission of differences over secondary principles and personal matters to the supreme principle of Party unity and Party discipline.

In no circumstance should we Communists encourage blind obedience. Since we are now in the midst of a situation of guerrilla warfare, conducted over dispersed rural districts, whose internal and external conditions differ widely from each other, we should, in our work, pursue a policy of "decentralised operations under centralised leadership." Over-centralised operations and equalitarianism are erroneous. However, decentralised operations do not mean autonomism. They mean independent performance and the ability to do independent work. They must not be separated from centralised leadership. Instead, they must have centralisation in leadership.

Conditions being what they are, it often happens that the decisions and instructions of a leading body do not cover every situation in every place, but are only of a general character. Consequently, while they are applicable to ordinary areas, they do not suit certain special areas. It also often happens that they contain mistakes and are impracticable. In such conditions, we should not advocate blind performance or obedience. Instead, we should encourage intelligent and sincere action. This means that a serious study of both the circumstances and the decisions and instructions is necessary. When the latter are found to contain mistakes or to be at variance with the local situation, one should have the courage to bring them to the attention of a higher body with a request for their withdrawal or amendment, instead of enforcing them blindly and obstinately, leading to waste of time and money of the people and isolation from the masses. In so doing the lower Party organisations are by no means insubordinate. Nor are they committing autonomism, but they are sincerely carrying out the decisions and instructions. Only those Party members are outstanding who are capable not only of independent deliberation but also of helping to correct the errors and defects of a higher body. They should be especially encouraged.

In this connection, there may be three kinds of approach. The first is to carry out only those decisions and instructions of the higher bodies which suit one's taste and disregard others which do not. This is autonomism pure and simple and is impermissible, whatever may be the pretext. The second is blind, mechanical

implementation, without taking the trouble to see whether or not the particular decisions and instructions are applicable or to study the existing circumstances. This is a blind rather than a serious carrying out of decisions and instructions of a higher body and is consequently also impermissible. The third is to study the decisions and instructions on the one hand and the circumstances on the other, to resolutely carry out what is practicable, and to report what is impracticable to the higher body, giving detailed reasons and requesting amendments. This is intelligent and sincere carrying out of decisions and instructions and is the only correct approach. We not only do not oppose, but should by all means encourage, this kind of creative power and activity on the part of a Communist. The Party opposes disregard for discipline and the practice of autonomism, but advocates and encourages initiative on the part of every Party member in tackling problems and in doing his work independently under the general direction of the Party.

A leading body should allow its lower organisations and membership to set forth their suggestions and questions and to propose revisions to its decisions and instructions, which, when found really to contain mistakes or defects, should be corrected accordingly. If the lower ranks are wrong, satisfactory explanation should be given to straighten out their ideas, while the wrong practice of taking harsh measures against them should be definitely avoided. If the higher body insists on the execution of a decision or instruction, despite appeal for revision, then it should be carried out, and the lower ranks should

cease persisting in their own stand and resistance to the decision.

The discipline of the Communist Party is based on voluntary submission. It should not be made mechanical so as to become "discipline" that restricts the membership's activity and initiative. There should be a combination of the membership's discipline and initiative.

The Party Constitution provides that a Party organisation at any level shall ensure that publications under its guidance popularise the decisions and policy of its higher organisations and of the Central bodies. This is necessitated by the Party's unity and its national character. The decisions and policy of the Central Committee and other higher Party organisations should be disseminated everywhere, and all ideas contrary to these should not be publicised. The ideology of Marxism should be disseminated while ideologies contrary to it should not. This is not being satisfactorily carried out by some of our local Party organisations. Some papers are not giving sufficient publicity to decisions and policies of the Central Committee, and it even happens that they carry articles at variance with the decisions and policy of the Central Committee. Therefore, Party organisations at all levels must check up on this and correct such practices.

It is provided in the Party Constitution that prior to statements or decisions issued by the Central Committee on an issue of a national character, no lower Party organisations or their responsible personnel shall, apart

from discussions among themselves and making proposals to the Central Committee, take the liberty of making public their views or decisions on the particular issue. This, too, is made necessary by the Party's unity and its national character. The Party as a whole can have only one orientation or line, not several. It can adopt only one attitude or take one viewpoint on a national issue, not several. Local Party organisations should not exceed their powers by making public their views in place of and ahead of the Central Committee on issues which should and must be decided upon and made public by the Central Committee. All responsible Party leaders, including members of the Central Committee, should not publicise their views on national issues without the Central Committee's approval. They may discuss their views at the meetings of local Party committees and make suggestions to the Central Committee. But it is impermissible for them to make public, either inside or outside the Party, views not yet made known by the Central Committee or to circulate and disseminate them among other local Party committees. The reason is that should such views or decisions conflict with those of the Central Committee, it would leave a very bad impression in the Party and among the people, or before our enemy. We did not stress this point when we had very few or no wireless installations. But when such facilities are in abundance, this point must be emphasised. The Central Committee has called attention to this point a number of times during the Anti-Japanese War.

As to local questions, the Constitution authorises local Party organisations to make independent decisions,



provided these decisions do not conflict with the decisions of the Central Committee and other higher organisations. In this connection, undue interference or making of decisions for the lower Party organisations on the part of a higher body should also be avoided. While it is necessary for a higher body to make suggestions to a lower organisation in order to help it reach correct decisions, the power of decision must rest with the latter.

At present our Party is still underground in many areas. A Party organisation in such circumstances must adopt special forms to carry out its work. Hence the Constitution provides that open organisational forms and methods of work of the Party unsuitable for a Party organisation operating in secret may be modified. This provision is necessary. Organisational principles provided in the Constitution must be carried out by the whole Party, but the organisational forms and methods of work of the Party should be modified according to the changing circumstances and conditions. This is a point which has already been dealt with.

## THE PROBLEM OF CADRES

It can be seen from our Party Constitution that the leading bodies of our Party at all levels are of tremendous importance for the Party and its cause. Since the leading bodies of the Party at all levels are composed of cadres, the problem of cadres is therefore a problem of vital importance.

The cadres of the Party are the nucleus of the Party leadership and of the Chinese revolution. Everyone knows that "cadres decide everything". Without cadres, it would be impossible to carry out our Party Programme and policy through the masses, or achieve the emancipation of the Chinese people. Large numbers of cadres have been steeled in the course of our Party's heroic struggles during the past twenty-four years. In the interests of the people's emancipation, they have demonstrated the noblest revolutionary qualities of the Chinese people in their self-sacrifice, their profuse creative power and their perseverance. They are, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung puts it, "the treasures of the nation and pride of the whole Party." But for the sacrifices and efforts of a great many of our cadres in the past, the people's cause would not have achieved so much as it

has today. If there is no concerted efforts of the entire body of our cadres in the future, the cause of the people's emancipation will not be able to attain complete victory. Hence the problem of cadres of the Party is virtually an all-decisive issue in the cause of the Chinese people. Any comparatively serious mistake on this issue would impair the Chinese people's cause.

Our cadres come from the masses and work among the masses. They should be the leaders of the masses of the people and at the same time carry out the mass line. They are the nucleus of leadership among the masses, emerging from the struggles of the masses and in turn directing the struggles of the masses. The cadres are therefore that part of the masses who deserve our special regard. It is precisely because of our regard for the masses and their cause that we particularly think highly of their cadres. Our regard for cadres starts from our regard for the masses. It is not isolated from that viewpoint; nor is it a matter merely for its own sake. Therefore, cadres who have isolated themselves from the masses, or who instead of serving the masses well, have done harm to the masses do not deserve our regard. The Party must reform such cadres by strict education. Thus one of the most important criteria for appraising cadres lies in their mass standpoint and mass line and in the intimacy of their connections with the masses.

Coming from different walks of life, our cadres generally are of two categories: those of worker and peasant origin and those of student and intellectual origin. However, both categories fight and work for a

common goal. Of these two categories the first makes up the majority of our cadres. In the first category itself, the cadres of peasant origin constitute the majority. This fact proves that our Party is the vanguard of the working class of China. In the entire history of China only a party like ours has been able to educate and train up thousands upon thousands of distinguished cadres from among the ordinary workers and peasants. It is only under our Party's education and encouragement that they have achieved such a development today as heroes of the nation's cause. This is to the credit of our Party, Marxism-Leninism—the Thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Each of these two categories of our Party cadres has both merits and defects which ought to be developed or eliminated as the case may be. The worker-peasant cadres should endeavour to maintain and broaden their connections with the masses and their popular style of work. Meanwhile they should overcome their cultural and theoretical deficiencies. The intellectual cadres on the other hand should foster factual and mass stand-points, eliminate their idealistic standpoint and their lack of regard for labour, for workers and peasants, and strive to mix up with the masses of workers and peasants.

Both categories are indispensable to the success of the cause of the Chinese people's emancipation and neither can be dispensed with. Therefore it is just as wrong to disregard and despise the worker-peasant cadres as it is wrong to disregard and despise or even discriminate against the intellectual cadres. They must respect each other and learn from each other. Close unity and

cooperation between them in all circumstances is decisive for the progress and victory of our cause.

In each of these two categories there is a distinction between old and new cadres, with the latter in the majority. Most of the cadres who joined our Party after the beginning of the Anti-Japanese War have done splendid work for the people, undergone excellent training, and become well experienced in the struggles. Our Party has been constantly reinforced with large numbers of new cadres. It is only with such reinforcements of new cadres that the cause of our Party may succeed. The relationship between the new and old cadres, that is, the proper attitude to be adopted by each toward the other, is a problem of constant importance within our Party.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly called attention to the importance of this problem, pointing out that "all old cadres should welcome the new cadres with the utmost enthusiasm and take good care of them," and that "new and old cadres should respect and learn from each other, and acquire each other's merits and remedy their respective defects so that they can unite as one man and fight for the common cause." However, it must be pointed out that some comrades have not yet paid sufficient attention to this important directive of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It still happens that new cadres have a poor opinion of the old cadres, who in turn despise and fail to welcome and look after the new cadres. From now on they must reflect upon this and correct this once and for

**all. Only by a high degree of solidarity and cooperation between them under all circumstances can our cause be accomplished.**

Cadres also differ from each other owing to the difference in the nature, record, and location of their work in the course of the revolution, resulting in the distinction between the military and the civilian cadres, between the cadres of one army and those of another, between the cadres of one place and those of another, between the cadres of one department and those of another, between local cadres and those from outside, etc. Each of these cadres is versed in a certain field of revolutionary work but weak in others, and each has his merits and defects. Therefore, they ought to respect, help, and learn from each other, instead of meeting each other with contempt, complaint or friction. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has stressed the proper relationship between these cadres in his report on Rectification of Three Styles, and every cadre and Party member must act accordingly. Only with a high degree of solidarity and cooperation between these cadres under all circumstances can our common cause be advanced.

The cadres policy of our Party and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung is, above all, a policy of solidarity among the cadres, between the worker-peasant cadres and the intellectual cadres, between the old and the new cadres, between cadres in different fields, between the cadres in different places of work, and between the cadres of the entire Party. Hence, anything which stands in the way of solidarity ought to be overcome.

On what basis should the solidarity of our cadres be built up? What impedes their solidarity?

Our Party is neither a family body nor a trade guild. It is a revolutionary political party welded by a common ideology and political programme. The solidarity of our cadres is consequently neither unprincipled nor founded on the interests or feelings of personal life, but based on Marxist-Leninist ideological unity, on a common faith in and a common programme for the cause of the Chinese people's emancipation, on the correct line of the Central Committee of the Party, and under the correct leadership of the Central Committee and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Therefore so long as we are united ideologically, so long as we have the same faith and programme to serve the people, and so long as we all support and carry out the line of the Central Committee and fight hand in hand under the leadership of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, then irrespective of what kind of cadres we are or what place or field of work we are assigned to, we must unite. There is no reason why we should not. Petty differences in personal life and in sentiment shall no longer be permitted to sow discord among us. This is the firm foundation of the solidarity and unity of the entire Party and of all cadres.

The basis of our solidarity will be lost if, among our Party members or cadres, there is anyone who advocates dogmatism or empiricism instead of Marxism-Leninism, who stands by personal or clique interests instead of those of the entire people, who goes against the line of the Central Committee instead of carrying it out,

or who advocates autonomism instead of accepting the leadership of the Central Committee and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung; in other words, if there is anyone who departs from the Party's common programme, from the principles of Marxism-Leninism—the Thought of Mao Tse-tung, or from the interests of the people as a whole, and who embraces subjectivism, sectarianism and mountain-top-ism. Only through an uncompromising but appropriate struggle to overcome these erroneous tendencies can solidarity be achieved. These tendencies—opportunism, dogmatism, empiricism, sectarianism, mountain-top-ism, etc. in the Party are detrimental to our solidarity and must be overcome.

It may be said that as the result of several years' study of Party history and as the result of the Rectification of Three Styles, dogmatism in the Party has already been subjected to severe criticism. Although remnants of it still survive and attention should still be given to overcoming them, its market in the Party has nevertheless shrunk. Our comrades have become more sensitive to its smell, and its growth in the Party will from now on meet with great difficulty.

Empiricism in the Party has also been subjected to a certain amount of criticism during the Rectification of Three Styles and Party history studies, and its market in the Party has also shrunk. Yet it should be pointed out that the criticism of it is still insufficient, many of our comrades still lack a keen sense in smelling it, and it still has a market in the Party. This is, to a certain extent, an obstacle to the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism—the Thought of Mao Tse-tung and to inner-Party



solidarity. We must therefore thoroughly overcome the empiricist deviation by keeping up the spirit of the Rectification of Three Styles, in order to further the solidarity of the whole Party.

In spite of the fact that the most serious sectarianism in the Party has been basically overcome through several years of the Rectification of Three Styles and studies of Party history, a tendency to blind mountain-top-ism which undermines inner-Party solidarity still exists in certain sections of the Party. There are objective and historical causes for the birth of this kind of blind mountain-top-ism:

- 1) The big percentage of petty bourgeois elements both inside and outside the Party;

- 2) The prolonged segmentation of the different sections of the Party under conditions of rural guerrilla warfare, resulting in unique histories, particular connections and particular styles of work, which are different from each other;

- 3) Insufficient Marxist-Leninist education in the Party. Hence comrades in different sections of the Party with a mountain-top-ist sentiment often unconsciously display the following typical undesirable phenomena. They relish solely their own glorious history but fail to appreciate or simply ignore those of other sections. They appreciate only their own achievements, knowing nothing about their own shortcomings. Consequently comrades in other sections are permitted only to sing praises to their achievements but not to criticise their defects, even though they are real and obvious. On the other hand,

they see nothing but defects in the other sections of the Party, hence they have nothing but criticism for others. Nor do they take into account and appreciate the difficulties of others. In their own company they talk and joke, and get along together perfectly, looking after each other and conversing without reservation. But they are inaccessible, distant, indifferent and inconsiderate to others not of their group. As manifested in their inner-Party relations they have a background and even sometimes join together to hold others back.

There are some people in the Party who are overbearing, compelling others to take caution.

This typical tendency to mountain-top-ism often exists in certain sections of the Party, e.g., between local and outside cadres, between Army and civilian cadres, between cadres of one section of the Army and those of another section, or between the cadres of one district and those of another, thus impairing solidarity and giving rise to discord and friction which ought not to take place. This tendency to mountain-top-ism is in most cases blind and unconscious. Therefore people who display this tendency invariably fail to admit their mistake until they have been properly talked to and convinced about it. The blindness of this tendency, when utilized by some elements with ulterior motives, may cause serious disputes in the Party.

The blind tendency to mountain-top-ism is a special type of sectarianism without an apparently mistaken political programme, but with numerous incorrect political and organisational views, serious tendencies of exclusion-

ism and conservatism and serious isolation from the masses. It is anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist. It impairs the solidarity and unity of the entire Party and it is a tendency to factionalism. Hence, it must be opposed and eliminated. This is a principle which must be clearly understood and there must not be the slightest doubt on this point.

When we point out the existence of mountain-top-ism in the Party and give the objective causes of its origin, some comrades seem to feel the need of this tendency and are rather proud of it. They regret its non-existence. They want to build up, strengthen and legalise this tendency within the Party, thus developing blind mountain-top-ism into conscious mountain-top-ism. It is quite obvious that this idea is contrary to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The tendency to mountain-top-ism in the Party must be eliminated. The lines dividing the "mountains" must also be swept away. Just as in the struggle against other errors, hasty and rash measures should be avoided. It is necessary to understand first of all the objective existence of this tendency, taking into consideration its blind character and its objective and historical background. It is also essential to spread with patience Marxist-Leninist education, and to raise the consciousness of the cadres and of the Party membership in order to enable them to practise self-examination. It is particularly necessary that those comrades who have the upper hand and those who are holding leading positions should set an example in conducting such self-examination and self-criticism, so as to get rid of the blind character

of this tendency step by step and gradually remove and eventually eliminate this tendency. The tendency to mountain-top-ism can only be eliminated after our comrades have developed Marxist-Leninist consciousness.

Another obstacle to the unity of our cadres is the "knapsacks" on their backs. Almost every category of cadres has both strong and weak points. But many comrades very often exaggerate one-sidedly their own strong points to the neglect of their weak points and the strong points of others. Thus, they easily become arrogant, look down upon others and cannot stand others' criticism or "gossip". As a result, their strong points become their "knapsacks" and obstacles to their further progress as well as to the unity between cadres. Therefore, their strong points become their weak points.

For instance, the worker-peasant cadres often are proud of their social origin and look down on the intellectual cadres. The latter on their part, because of their knowledge, return the "compliments". The old cadres on account of their seniority and longer record of struggle often look down on the new cadres and the new cadres on account of their intelligence and abilities look down on the old cadres. The army cadres by virtue of their ability in warfare look down on the civilian cadres and the civilian cadres on account of their richer experience look down on the army cadres. The cadres of one army unit on account of having won more battles look down on the cadres of another army unit and vice versa. In addition, the cadres of different regions and departments often look down on each other on account of their respective accomplishments and knowledge.

This looking down on others because of the "knapsacks" on the back inevitably arouses others' resentment and engenders disunity among the cadres. This is the reason why Comrade Mao Tse-tung calls upon our cadres to examine their "knapsacks" and take them off in order to free themselves spiritually, in order to enable them to establish connections with the masses and commit less mistakes, and in order to unite the whole Party.

However, many comrades are blind to the "knapsacks" on their backs. Many comrades do not realise that their "knapsacks" are too much of a heavy burden and are therefore loathe to throw them off. So the cadres must raise their consciousness, guard against arrogance which not only handicaps the further development of their merits and achievements but also even turns their merits into defects. That is why Comrade Mao Tse-tung calls upon us to learn how to use our brains, to think properly, to analyse things and to do away with the blindness that is prevalent in our Party, so that the merits of our cadres may be developed and their defects overcome, and progress may thereby be marked from day to day and from month to month. On the basis of such progress, the unity between our cadres may be greatly strengthened.

Our cadres must throw away their "knapsacks", mountain-top-ism, and subjectivism. They must use their brains to analyse all important problems. They must raise their consciousness, eliminate blindness, be humble and cautious, guard against arrogance and impetuosity, and unite as one man under the line and leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade

Mao Tse-tung. Our success will then be assured. This is the immediate tasks of the cadres of the entire Party.

The unity of our cadres is inseparable from their progress. They are two sides of the same thing. Without studying Marxism-Leninism—the Thought of Mao Tse-tung and without raising the level of their consciousness, it is impossible to throw off the “knapsacks”, to eliminate blind mountain-top-ism, to overcome subjectivism, to realise the importance of rallying the Party members and the masses of the people, or to eradicate self-conceit and complacency. Therefore, there must be a continuous strengthening of the education of Marxism-Leninism—the Thought of Mao Tse-tung and a continuous development of criticism and self-criticism—which is the driving force behind the progress of our Party and of our cadres—in the spirit of the Campaign of the Rectification of Three Styles in order to overcome our defects and raise our consciousness. Therefore, the cadres policy of our Party is a policy for the improvement of our cadres, a policy of overcoming their defects and raising their consciousness by criticism and self-criticism.

There have been continual sacrifices and losses of cadres during the relentless revolutionary wars. Nevertheless, the development of the revolution calls for a steady increase of cadres. Large numbers of capable new cadres have emerged from the mighty torrents of the struggles of the masses of the people—all of which confronts us with a daily, serious task of selecting and promoting cadres.

How shall we select and promote cadres? What are the standards?

Our cadres should be imbued with the warmest Communist revolutionary zeal combined with cool-headed revolutionary reason.

Our cadres should be boundlessly loyal to the cause of the masses of the people and intimately linked with them; capable of independent orientation in intricate circumstances, unafraid of shouldering responsibility for making decisions; and highly disciplined and well-trained in Marxism-Leninism, both in fighting the enemy and in inner-Party struggles over principles.

In regard to the cadres policy, Comrade Mao Tse-tung told us at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee that the criteria for our cadres policy were, among other things, "resolute carrying out of the Party line, observance of Party discipline, intimate connections with the masses, ability to work independently, willingness to work, and unselfishness."

In short, the best cadres are those who can best serve the masses of the people.

All our comrades know that the criteria mentioned above are correct. Yet there are some comrades who have brought forth other criteria. They suggest that a cadre's Party standing and his qualifications be the primary and sole considerations in selecting and promoting cadres. There are also those who think only of a cadre's ability to speak and to write irrespective of whether he is practical or not. Other criteria are blind obedience

and personal relations. These criteria for selecting and promoting cadres are obviously incorrect.

Then how shall we appraise cadres?

It should be done along two lines. Firstly, a cadre should be examined minutely and intrinsically by the leadership as to his capabilities and his limitations, his merits and defects, his whole personal history and his work. Secondly, a cadre should be examined at the place where he does his work and through the rank and file under his leadership. Only by combining both of these can there be a relatively comprehensive and correct appraisal of a cadre thereby avoiding many deviations.

Some comrades hold that cadres can only be examined from the top. In other words, it means the examination of the subordinates by their higher-ups according to the former's reports on their work. This idea is incorrect. Such examination is of course necessary, and it is one of the effective means. But it is far from sufficient. Cadres must also be examined from the bottom up. This is to say that the leading cadres must be examined through the masses, through the rank and file under their leadership. This is the most effective way.

The Party Constitution provides for measures for examining, selecting and promoting cadres by the masses, and by the rank and file. This consists of examination of the leaders by the rank and file of the Party membership in different Party meetings, conferences, and congresses, by hearing the leaders' reports on their work.



by criticizing their defects, and by electing the leading bodies. The principle of democratic centralism as laid down in the Party Constitution must be effectively enforced in the Party. The setting up of the Party machinery by the elective method, the right to nominate and to reject candidates, and the freedom of criticism and self-criticism—all this must be effectively carried out.

We believe that the appraisal and selection and promotion of cadres both from the top down and from the bottom up will yield correct results in this respect. This explains why it is stipulated in the Party Constitution that all leading bodies of the Party should be established by the elective method and approved by the higher Party committees.

The Party organisations in many districts have not yet paid sufficient attention to the selection, promotion and nurturing of local cadres to do responsible work in their home districts, especially the nurturing of local cadres for military work. For instance, the data for 1943 show that in Taipei of the 37 cadres of eight regional Party committees there were only nine local cadres, (or 26% of the total) in comparison with 28 outside cadres, (or 74% of the total). Of the 37 cadres of county Party committees under the control of four regional Party committees in Taiyueh only six (or 16%) were natives of these counties, while 31 (or 84%) were outsiders. In Taihang, of the 18 cadres of five county Party committees under the control of the Sixth Regional Committee only five (or 27%) were natives and 13 (or 72%) were outsiders. These figures indicate that

local cadres are rarely placed on even county or regional Party committees, let alone other still higher leading bodies of the Party.

Recent reports from the Taihang Regional Party Committee stated that of the region's total of five thousand cadres at different levels and in various fields of work local cadres formed 80%, with only 20% outsiders, indicating a change in the percentage of local cadres as compared with 1943. But in many leading bodies the majority of responsible cadres still came from outside. And in the distribution of cadres, especially in responsible work, instead of being assigned to their home counties or regions, cadres were often sent to outside positions. Hence there is still a preponderance of outside cadres in positions of responsibility. This situation must be effectively altered.

Similar conditions of local cadres are also found in many other revolutionary bases.

Such practices as arbitrary appointment of responsible members of lower Party committees, haphazard transfer of cadres of lower Party committees, and the sending of "imperial envoys" still persist in the Party organisations in certain areas. For instance, according to reports from South Hopei, secretaries of regional Party committees there had been transferred six times or more in seven years, with five times as the minimum; secretaries of county Party committees had been transferred from five to thirteen times. Comrade Liu Hung-fan, secretary of the Fourth Regional Party Committee, took up the secretaryship of county Party committees eight times in

**six years. Such haphazard transfer of cadres of lower Party committees must cease.**

In areas newly won over to the revolution, it is generally necessary to send in outside cadres to carry on the work, but attention should be paid to sending in comrades who are natives of those areas. When cadres from other places are dispatched, they should be told to act only as guides to the local cadres and do their utmost to help the local cadres and prepare to hand over their work to them. The outsider cadres must not handle everything exclusively, or deprive the local cadres of the opportunity to participate in the work.

In areas where there are already local cadres and leading bodies, no appointees should be sent from outside. But if it must be done, those to be sent must be told emphatically to learn and study the local situation under the leadership of the existing leading bodies and cadres that are already there, to work devotedly, and to render assistance to the cadres who are already there. They must be told to refrain from domineering like overlords.

Extreme care must also be exercised by higher Party committees in dispatching inspectors to lower Party organisations. These inspectors must be cautioned not to become "imperial envoys". In short, the past practice of doing things merely by issuing orders must be radically changed.

All members of the Party should realise that the significance of the Party's particular emphasis on the work of nurturing, selecting, and promoting local cadres

is not merely a matter of cadres but a very serious matter of establishing connections between the Party and the masses of the people. Of course the outside cadres must also maintain connections with the masses and take root among them, but they can only establish such connections through the local cadres and take root through nurturing a large number of excellent cadres from among the local populace. Separation from local cadres means isolation from the populace. Lack of respect for or mistreating local cadres means disrespect for or mistreatment of the Party as well as one's own self and its connections with the masses. Experience tells us that the key to the establishment of close connections with the masses of the local populace is to build up sound relations between the outside and local cadres and to secure for the former the sincere support of the majority of the latter. The main yardstick for measuring our Party work in a given place is whether or not we have nurtured a sufficient number of good cadres and leaders from among the people in the given place.

The Party values its local cadres because it attaches great importance to its connections with the masses of the people. It does not value the local cadres for their own sake, nor does it neglect or look down on outside cadres. Our Party has a great number of competent cadres who are capable of working anywhere throughout the country, as they have gone through the process of being tempered and have had more experience. They are the most precious assets of the Party. However, if we only have a group of such cadres without the co-ordination of numerous local cadres everywhere, or, if

the former fail to foster, select and promote a host of the latter and to establish good relations with the majority of them wherever they may go, then the cause of our Party—the cause of the people—will certainly be unable to develop or succeed.

If, on the contrary, the outside cadres can establish good relations with the local cadres and with the masses of the people everywhere, then we are sure to make progress and win. Herein lies the essence of the problem. Of course the local cadres should forge links with the masses. Those who isolate themselves from the masses or behave badly deserve no place. Meanwhile, instead of rejecting outside cadres, the local cadres should learn from them. But it is primarily and mainly the responsibility of the outside cadres to respect, nurture, and help the local cadres.

It should be understood that it is for political reasons and for meeting the requirements of the objective conditions that the Party lays stress, at certain periods, on the fostering of one or several categories of cadres; it is for no other reason. It is not because such cadres are exceptionally likable or superior to the rest. The cadres problem and the cadres policy of the Party should be understood in a political light, instead of merely from an organisational point of view, least of all, merely from the point of view of the cadre problem itself.

It is of vital importance to form a regular, sound, and united nucleus of leadership that links up with the masses of the people. The leading bodies at all levels and the membership of the Party should pay attention

to the setting up of a nucleus of leadership for each locality and for each department in their daily work and struggle. But such a nucleus cannot be formed in a hurry or at one single stroke. It must be done through a long period of work and struggle, sometimes even through a tortuous path of failures and successes, of errors and corrections. Every organisation of our Party must know how to organise its nucleus of leadership and to select and send the best cadres to replace those who are incompetent or whose style of work is bad.

However, the transfer of responsible cadres, the reorganisation or reconstruction of any leading Party body must be undertaken as a matter of strict responsibility to the Party and to the people. It should not be allowed to take its own course or be handled with carelessness. A higher Party organisation should not transfer the responsible cadres of its lower organisations at random. Random transfers should not be made even in elections as provided by the Party Constitution. The reorganisation or reconstruction of any leading body of the Party is advisable only when it is assured of a turn for the better, and will be more beneficial to the people. If there is no such assurance, or, if the result of any such reorganisation will be just the opposite, then there should be no reorganisation. It is necessary to exercise patience in helping and educating any such leading body, thus enabling it to learn in the practical work and in the mass struggles.

Some of the cadres who have made mistakes should be replaced, but not all of them, as in many cases they are not worse than those who have made no mistakes

and they may possibly be even better or more useful in serving the people, if they can really understand and correct their mistakes.

As provided in the Party Constitution, the leading bodies of the Party from the sub-district committees up are to be re-elected every two years. More frequent re-elections should be avoided unless absolutely necessary. Cadres are to be permitted to remain when re-elected. It is inadvisable to transfer cadres at random even in elections unless it is necessary and unless they can be replaced with better cadres. Of course, new elements must be added. Both the higher leading bodies and the rank and file of the Party membership should bear this in mind and act in this matter seriously and with caution. Only by so doing can it benefit the people's cause.

Considerable achievements have been recorded in educating cadres during recent years, but it still requires constant attention. Our cadres should be well educated in the practice of correct criticism and self-criticism at Party meetings, in reviewing our work, in Party schools and training classes, and in the Rectification of Three Styles campaign. The education of sub-district and village cadres should be emphasised, as they are in direct contact with the masses of the people and are the ultimate agents to carry out all the policies and decisions of the Party. Generally speaking, this education has been neglected by the various leading bodies of the Party. Hence, training of these cadres should be carried out systematically and extensively. If they lack a correct mass line, correct style of work and a correct understanding of Party policies, none of our Party policies

can be carried out satisfactorily among the people in the villages.

Although considerable achievements and progress have been made in recent years in absorbing and promoting non-party cadres in different fields of the people's cause, and in bringing about solidarity and cooperation between Communist and non-party cadres, much remains to be desired. Here shortcomings still remain among our cadres, such as their lack of serious attention to absorbing different categories of talented non-party elements in the people's service, their lack of skill in working with non-party cadres or helping them in their work, or, as among certain comrades, the survival of sectarian, monopolistic or exclusive styles of work. Consequently in some places it still happens that non-party cadres hold only nominal positions with no actual power to act, and that they are dissatisfied with their work. In this connection, all Communist cadres must strictly examine themselves, and get rid of their defects in order to achieve success in absorbing and uniting non-party cadres. Communist cadres must know how to stimulate the initiative of non-party cadres and assist them in achieving success in their work and in building up their prestige in working for the people's cause, thereby attracting the broad sections of the best elements of the people into serving the people. In dealing with non-Party cadres' errors in principle and their political differences with us, patient persuasion should be used. Only thus can the cause of the Chinese people triumph and the Communists' devotion to the service of the people and their unselfishness be manifested.



When a Communist cadre works under a non-Communist, he must be a model in obedience to leadership and in performance of duty. To correct our defects in this respect, the Communist cadres should first call a certain number of meetings among themselves to review their work and then carry on self-criticism among non-party cadres, and encourage them to voice their criticism of Party cadres until both sides can say what they want to say without the slightest reservation and until misunderstandings are dispelled, errors corrected, and solidarity and cooperation furthered in their common cause to serve the people. Such measures have been carried out in some places with good results and should become a general, regular practice everywhere. In some places the relations between Party members and non-party members have been surveyed both inside and outside the Party; criticism and self-criticism both inside and outside the Party have been conducted, resulting in a great improvement in such relations. Such steps should be widely carried out in every public office, school, factory, and village, with sufficient preparation and good leadership to bring about better relations between Party and non-party cadres, and between Party members and non-party masses everywhere.

It must be made known to the entire Party that every government office, army unit, mass organisation, economic institution, popular educational body, city or village is invariably based on an alliance between our Party and non-party masses, and our Party members are usually in the minority or a very tiny percentage, while the non-party elements including those of the democratic parties

and groups in collaboration with us are in the majority or constituting an overwhelming majority. We should not, as it is absolutely wrong, regard these offices, bodies and organisations as exclusively Communist with no share for the non-party members. It is therefore the task of our Party to unite the majority or the overwhelming majority outside the Party in their common struggle for the people's cause. Only when the idea of such an alliance has struck root in the minds of our comrades can a healthy relationship be established between the Party and non-party circles. To establish a sound relationship between the Party's cadres and people's cadres and leaders outside the Party is an important link in the establishment of cordial relations between the Party and the masses of the people.

## THE BASIC ORGANISATION OF THE PARTY

As provided in the Party Constitution, the basic organisation of our Party is formed on the basis of production or working units. This is one of our Party's organisational principles, which places the basis of our Party organisations in the cells of social organism.

The Party Constitution provides that there shall be only one single unified Party organisation in each factory, mine, village, enterprise, street, office or school, irrespective of the number of Party members (from three to several thousand). This is the basic organisation and fortress of the Party among the masses in a given factory, mine, office and school. The basic organisation of the Party is called a Party branch. Under special circumstances, it is called a general branch, or a factory, office, or school Party committee.

It is advisable that the members of a Party branch be formed into groups to facilitate our Party work. But the part to be played by such Party groups should not be over-stressed. Activities should be unified and centralised by a Party branch instead of being divided up among the Party groups, except when it is inconvenient for centralised branch action. For example, a factory,

office or school Party branch with thirty or forty members is quite closely knit. Branch membership meetings should be called by the Party branch committee to conduct discussions, solve problems, and take up studies. It is not necessary to hold group meetings after a general membership meeting of the Party branch. When there are regular Party branch meetings the groups meet only on necessary occasions instead of regularly. The groups should not be taken as the actual basic organisations of the Party. It is not allowed to reduce the role of the Party branches to insignificance, to lift the branch committees to the status of a higher leading body instead of a leading body directly guiding the work of Party members, or to separate it from the Party membership by setting up an intermediate organisation in the form of groups. In our practical work, the groups have already been mistaken for the basic organisations of the Party and have been assigned quite a lot of work, leaving nothing for the Party branch committee to do. This should be corrected.

In a factory, office, or school where there is a general Party branch or a Party committee a substantial role can be played by sub-branches under the general Party branch or by branches under the Party committee. To these sub-branches and branches much work should be assigned, because it is inconvenient or even impossible to centralise such work in the Party committee or in the general Party branch. For example, the admission of a new Party member may be decided upon by the general membership meeting of a sub-branch and it is not necessary for the general Party branch to meet again to take up the same matter, although approval by the general

Party branch committee and ratification by a sub-district committee are necessary. However, such a general Party branch or Party committee remains the basic organisation in a production or working unit.

A factory, school, office, or village committee of the Party shall be authorised to ratify the admission of new Party members. Its authority should be equivalent to that of a sub-district Party committee.

A Party branch, in the rural districts as stipulated in the Constitution, is generally set up on the basis of an administrative village. But the inhabitants in the villages centre in natural villages. Therefore, a considerable role is played by a natural village, to which we must pay great attention. The basic organisations of the Party should be located mainly in the natural villages. But the population of a natural village varies from a few scores to thousands and tens of thousands. Thus, Party groups based on natural villages under a Party branch based on an administrative village are of great importance and play the role of basic Party organisations. Even though such a group should consist of only from three to eight members, their role is nevertheless as great as that of basic Party organisations and should therefore be stressed. Many activities such as holding meetings, solving problems, taking up studies, etc., should be conducted on the basis of such groups instead of turning everything over to the Party branch. According to the Party Constitution, a village with more than fifty Party members and candidate-members may set up a general Party branch with sub-branches based on the location of farms or residences.

This provision, which is optional, is made by taking into consideration the dispersed conditions of villages in the rural districts.

In the case of a natural village of great size, a Party branch, a general Party branch, or even a township Party committee may be organised. The role of Party groups in such a big natural village is not very big. Therefore we should not over-emphasise the point that the Party groups carry on many activities. We should stress the work of the Party branch.

One of the organisational principles of the Party to be observed is the building of basic organisations and fortresses of the Party, on the basis of production units or concentration points of the masses. However, in such places, the question as to which of the Party group, branch, general branch, factory committee, or township committee should be stressed so as to facilitate the work and render it effective, must be determined according to the actual circumstances.

Party branches in different grades of governmental and other offices should each be placed under the direct leadership of the Party committee of the same grade. Such an office branch should not take the place of a Party fraction. As provided in the Party Constitution, the Party fraction in such an office should be organised by Party members holding responsible positions thereof as it has special tasks which cannot possibly be taken up by the corresponding Party branch. A Party fraction, when it is necessary to carry out its tasks, may place the Party branch in the same establishment under its direc-

tion and mobilise the entire Party membership in the establishment to aid in its work.

♥ A Party branch is a working unit of the Party among the masses of the people. It is a bridge between the masses of the people and the leading bodies of the Party. It must link closely the former with the latter.

As provided in the Party Constitution, a Party branch should carry on propaganda and organisational work among the masses of the people in order to implement our Party slogans and the decisions of the higher Party organisations. It should keep in constant touch with the sentiment and desires of the masses of the people, and report such sentiment and desires in time to the higher Party organisations. It should be concerned with the life of the people and organise the people to solve their own problems. A Party branch should constantly carry out these tasks among the people and struggle for the fulfilment of such tasks. Only then can close relations be established between the masses of the people on the one hand and the Party and its leading bodies on the other.

The Party branch in a factory, office, or school in the Liberated Areas should mobilise and organise the people of that establishment to help and to insure the fulfilment of its plan and to combat any impediment to that end.

A Party branch should have a clear idea of the history, political countenance, degree of consciousness, and merits and shortcomings of every one of its members and should make appropriate appraisal. It should con-

cern itself with his political sentiment and tendency and involve him in the political activities of the Party and the revolutionary movement in China. It should assume responsibility for detecting spies and wreckers against national interests who are hiding among the people or in the Party and tracking them down in cooperation with the masses.

As provided in the Party Constitution, it is the responsibility of the Party branch to enforce Party discipline among its members.

According to the Constitution, it is the regular task of the Party branch to educate the Party members and to organise their studies.

The Party branch carries out the above-mentioned work under the guidance and with the approval of its higher Party organisation.

The branch committee is the leading body of a Party branch. It should, in accordance with actual circumstances, include Party members in charge of various phases of activities. In a village, for example, it should include Party members in the Government, in the militia, and in the economic and cultural institutions. Only when responsible comrades in different spheres of work are included in the branch committee, can the branch committee give proper leadership to these activities and become the nucleus of leadership.

As provided in the Party Constitution, the Party branch secretary is in charge of the whole work. There are no set rules for the division of labour among the other



committee members, as it should be arranged according to actual circumstances by each branch committee. It is necessary to have a committee member in charge of Party affairs. When the branch publishes a paper and engages in regular propaganda and inner-Party education, there should be some committee members in charge of propaganda and education. Other duties may be assigned according to the actual circumstances.

Assumption of leadership by a branch committee and its appropriate division of labour in accordance with the actual conditions are decisive factors in enabling the entire branch to operate successfully. Therefore, proper attention should be paid to this problem.

## COMMENDATION AND DISCIPLINE

Our Party has long been a party of a nation-wide scope and a broad mass character. It is particularly so at present. Any manifestation of lack of discipline, disunity or split within the Party will seriously affect the cause of the Chinese people's emancipation. It is therefore the duty of all Party members and Party organisations to safeguard and strengthen the unity of the whole Party and to combat all anti-Party, splitting, autonomist, factional, and double-dealing activities as well as all breaches of Party discipline. In other words, whatever temporary disagreement over principle or policy there may exist Party discipline must be observed, unity in the Party must be safeguard, activities damaging Party unity or splitting the Party, and other practices of autonomism, factionalism, and of duplicity must not be tolerated. The supreme principle of Party unity must be upheld. Party members and Party organisations should not follow any person who breaks Party discipline because of temporary differences over principle or policy, but should conduct a firm and appropriate struggle against him.

Since ours is a party of a broad mass character, it is vitally necessary to establish fine styles of work and

standards of emulation in the Party. Hence, the Party Constitution provides for commendation of Party members with excellent records. Commendation should be accorded to any Party member or any Party organisation that has in its work, or when facing the enemy's court, or in struggle against the enemy, or in inner-Party struggles, demonstrated absolute loyalty to the cause of the Party—the cause of the people; that displayed exemplary observance of the discipline of the Party and of revolutionary government and profuse creative power in the realisation of the Party programme or decision; that fulfilled Party assignments with outstanding success thereby winning sincere support from the masses of the people. Commendation may be given in person, by public announcement, and by publicity of the record and experience of the Party member or Party organisation thus commended. There may be other ways of commendation.

The Party Constitution provides that measures should be taken against those who fail to carry out the decisions of the Central Committee or of other higher Party organisations, against those who violate the Party Constitution or break Party discipline. Disciplinary measures applicable to an entire Party organisation consist of reprimand, partial reorganisation of its leading body, dismissal of its leading body and appointment of an interim leading body, dissolution of the entire organisation and re-registration of its membership. These steps are taken when an entire Party organisation or its entire leading body breaks Party discipline or commits other serious offences.

Disciplinary measures applicable to an individual Party member shall be admonition or warning in person, admonition or warning in public, removal from assigned work, retention of Party membership on probation and expulsion from the Party.

It is again one of the special features of the present revised Party Constitution that in our Party there are not only provisions for disciplinary measures but also for commendation.

As provided in the Party Constitution, expulsion from the Party is the highest of all inner-Party disciplinary measures. The Party organisations at all levels should exercise the utmost caution in taking this step. There should be no confusion between Party discipline and other punishment outside the Party. Expulsion from the Party is the last resort of Party discipline, and the Party can do nothing more. When a Party member violates the laws of the State he should be duly dealt with by the Government. No disciplinary measure taken by the Party should involve any judicial or administrative measures which rightfully belong to the State.

When a Party organisation decides to discipline any Party member, every effort must be made to enable the disciplined member to attend hearings in person to defend himself. Only in special circumstances may decisions be made in his absence. The disciplined member must be formally notified of the reasons for the disciplinary measure taken against him. Should the disciplined member raise objections to the decision he may request a reconsideration and change of the decision.

The Party organisation concerned should carefully consider his request and re-examine the case. If the disciplined member wants to appeal his case to a higher Party body, the Party organisation concerned should help him and should not suppress his appeal.

A Party member who fails to carry out Party decisions, who violates the Party Constitution, or who breaks Party discipline should be disciplined. Party organisations at all levels have full powers to take disciplinary measures against such Party members. However, the Party organisations should deal with the offenses of such Party members according to the specific circumstances of each case and render decisions accordingly. Some offenders, for example, may not fully understand the Party Constitution or Party discipline, or may not understand the Party policy or decisions while others may have acted deliberately. Some offenses may concern personal life only without direct violation of the Party Constitution, discipline, policy or decisions of the Party while others may be direct violations of these. Some offenders may sincerely amend their faults after being criticized and enlightened, while others may persist in them despite such efforts. These being the discriminating circumstances for different decisions, a Party organisation should be relatively lenient with the former and severe with the latter.

A disciplinary measure should be annulled when the offender has corrected his mistakes in deeds, when the decision is wrong or when the decision has been proved to be at variance with facts.

As provided in the Party Constitution, the duties of the Control Commissions of the Party are to decide on and annul disciplinary measures against Party members and to handle complaints of the Party membership. The Commissions shall be instituted whenever it is deemed necessary and possible by the Central Committee. The regulations governing the organisation and work of the Control Commissions and the procedures for enforcing discipline by the Party organisations at all levels are to be drawn up and promulgated by the Central Committee.

As provided in the Party Constitution, the positive aim in commending a Party member is to educate Party members and the masses of the people as well as the comrade commended. It is aimed at the establishment of a fine style of work in the Party and a standard of emulation for the membership, and not at the encouragement of personal vanity in the Party. In the past, revolutionary contests and campaigns for the selection of labour heroes and model workers, has given rise to prize-winning and publicity-seeking feelings, arrogance and self-conceit among certain comrades. This is wrong and must be prevented in the future.

As the Party Constitution has pointed out, the Party's positive aim in disciplining a Party member is also to educate the Party members and the masses of the people as well as the disciplined Party member. It is to serve as a warning to avoid similar pitfalls in the future. It is in a spirit of curing the sickness and saving the patient, instead of introducing a penalisation system into the Party. It is necessary to point this out because in the past some of our Party organisations have em-

phasised only organisational disciplinary measures and neglected ideological and political education to help correct erring comrades theoretically and politically. As a result, after being disciplined, these comrades still failed to understand thoroughly their errors and correct them. This must be carefully corrected in the future.

## THE RIGIDITY AND FLEXIBILITY OF THE PARTY

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out in his political report the difference between our Party and other political parties. This is extremely important. It is unthinkable that such an exceedingly gigantic revolution of the Chinese nation embracing a population of 475,000,000 can be led to victory without a Marxist-Leninist Party which is exceedingly rigid in matters of principle and different from all other parties. The Chinese people are now approaching the eve of the defeat of the Japanese invaders and the building of a new China. Our Party, on the one hand, should unite with all the revolutionary classes and democratic parties and groups throughout the country to struggle for victory; and, on the other hand, it should strengthen its ranks and increase its rigidity ideologically, politically, and organisationally to distinguish it from all other political parties. Only then can it maintain its independent character, prevent itself from being confused with other parties, help others to advance, and give leadership to the masses of the people.

Our Party is the Marxist vanguard of the proletariat. Its world outlook and its methods of thinking—



dialectical materialism and historical materialism—are different from those of all other classes.

In the present Chinese revolution our Party represents the revolutionary democrats of the proletariat, being different not only from the big landlords, the big bourgeoisie and the liberal bourgeoisie, but also from the revolutionary democrats of the petty bourgeoisie, whose revolutionary theory, revolutionary methods, and final objective in the revolution differ fundamentally from those of the party of the proletariat. Due to its inherent looseness and vacillation and its lack of Marxism-Leninism as an ideological weapon, the petty bourgeoisie often finds it difficult to identify their friends and foes, and are incapable of organising revolutionary forces strong enough to defeat the enemy or giving correct leadership to the people's revolutionary struggles. Herein lies the political difference between our Party and the petty bourgeois revolutionary democrats in the present democratic revolution.

Organisationally, our Party's iron discipline and its thorough-going mass line and self-criticism, all designed to serve the people, also distinguish us from all other classes.

Only when we can distinguish ourselves ideologically, politically and organisationally from all other classes, can we become the vanguard of the proletariat, properly unite with others and help them advance.

In other words, agreement must be sought first by finding out the points of difference, without which no correct agreement can be reached. Seeking agreement

without locating the points of difference will inevitably become capitulationism.

The difference we establish is not of a sectarian nature. It is Marxist demarcation, which is essential if we are to rally all democratic classes and groups.

The vanguard of the proletariat should distinguish itself not only from all other classes, but also from the masses of its own class. In other words, there should be a distinction between the members of our Party—the advanced fighters of the proletariat—on the one hand and ordinary workers on strike and ordinary peasants demanding reduction in rent and interest on the other. Our Party must distinguish itself from trade unions. The same holds true even inside the Party. When opportunism and non-proletarian ideas and proposals appear in the Party, our Party members should distinguish right from wrong and draw a line of demarcation between such things and themselves. Only when our members can dissociate themselves ideologically, politically, and organisationally from elements of all other classes, especially from the ideology of the petty bourgeois revolutionists as reflected in the Party, can they become conscious advanced fighters of the proletariat and reform others and help them to advance.

Such is the rigidity of our Party in matters of principle.

Ours has been a serious party from the very beginning and that is why it has been able to fulfil its tasks in the revolution of the Chinese people. Confronted with the immediate tasks in the present stage, its rigidity must

be furthered before it is to fulfil the forthcoming still greater and more complex tasks of this revolution. Thus, the present revised Party Constitution appears particularly as a Party Constitution with a high degree of seriousness. This is demanded of us by our Party's immediate tasks and circumstances.

While our Party must be rigid in matters of principle, it must possess a high degree of flexibility in the application of principles to concrete tasks. The vanguard of the proletariat must possess flexibility, because it has to establish the closest connection with the masses of its own class and with all the toiling people, form a revolutionary alliance with all the revolutionary classes, parties and groups, and move on hand in hand with the broad masses and necessary allies in revolutionary actions. In order to move forward, it must, under given circumstances, know how to make concrete and beneficial concessions to, and compromises with, its allies and masses of followers as well as to mark time. It must bypass all the snags in the course of the revolution, and know how to coordinate the fundamental and partial interests of the masses of the people as well as the different forms of struggle and organisation. In other words, seriousness in matters of principle must never be confused with sectarianism and arrogance. Only then can we lead others, help others to advance, and bring about the people's emancipation.

— It means that we must seek agreement. The finding out of differences without striving for agreement will inevitably lead to sectarianism.

Ours is flexibility under definite principles. Flexibility without principle is wrong and so are concessions and compromises beyond principle, or ambiguity and confusion in principle. Party principles are the standards and the yardsticks for all changes in policies and tactics. The Party's principles are the standard and yardstick for its flexibility. For example, to fight for the greatest good of the greatest number of the people is one of our unchangeable principles. This unchangeable principle is the standard and yardstick for determining the correctness of all changes in our policies or tactics. All changes in keeping with this principle are correct while those conflicting with it are wrong. This means that our striving for agreement with others implies neither abandonment of our principles nor the debasement of ourselves in matters of principle. This means insistence on definite principles, the gradual elevation of others to the level of our principles, and the advancement of the consciousness of the masses and of our allies from their present experience and level to the level of a given programme advocated by the Communist Party. In other words, it is a striving for agreement through others' advancement instead of our debasement.

This is to say that our flexibility must be integrated with our Party's rigidity in principle.

Our Party is now on the eve of the great victory of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese War and national reconstruction. Besides fighting for victory with the greatest enthusiasm and courage, all Party members must, with the highest intellect and most cool-headed delibera-

tion, prepare themselves for the progress and changes along every line of our work so that such progress and changes may be effected by us consciously and on our own initiative, instead of being forced upon us unconsciously. These circumstances have also been taken into consideration in this revised Constitution, which stresses rigidity in principle and takes into account flexibility in action and work. This is done by considering not only the present but also of the future circumstances of our Party. The revised Constitution should and can be carried out under the present circumstances but also can be carried out after the defeat of the Japanese invaders and in the building of a State of New Democracy by the Chinese people.

Our Party is confronted with a great, bright future and with complex and difficult tasks. The entire Party should, under the political and organisational direction set forth by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and on the basis of the new Constitution adopted by this Congress, speedily and strictly close our ranks and sharpen our organisational weapons in order that the entire Party may, without the slightest regret, lead the broadest masses of the people to overcome all difficulties and win an unprecedentedly great victory in history.

The Party Constitution adopted by this Congress will be a Constitution capable of guaranteeing the victory and emancipation of the Chinese nation and people.

For the final wiping out of the Japanese invaders!

Long live the independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous New China!

**Long live the emancipation of the Chinese nation,  
and people!**

**Long live Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our Party  
leader and the pilot of the revolutionary struggle of the  
Chinese nation and people!**

THE  
CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

(ADOPTED BY THE SEVENTH NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA ON JUNE 11, 1945)

## GENERAL PROGRAMME

The Communist Party of China is the organised vanguard of the Chinese working class and the highest form of its class organisation. The Party represents the interests of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people. While at the present stage it works to create a system of New Democracy in China, its ultimate aim is the realisation of a system of Communism in China.

The Communist Party of China guides its entire work by the teachings which unite the theories of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution—the Thought of Mao Tse-tung—and fights against any dogmatist or empiricist deviations. Basing itself on Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism, the Chinese Communist Party accepts critically both the Chinese and foreign historical heritages and opposes the world outlook of idealism or mechanical materialism.

Because present-day Chinese society, apart from the Liberated Areas of New Democracy, is still a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society; because the driving forces of the Chinese revolution at present are made up



of the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and other democratic elements; because there exists the powerful Communist Party of China; and because of the present international conditions the Chinese revolution at the present stage is a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type in character—the New Democratic Revolution of the broad masses of the people, led by the proletariat, and directed against imperialism and feudalism. This revolution has many allies both at home and abroad. Therefore, the tasks of the Chinese Communist Party at the present stage are: internally, to organise and rally China's workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal elements and all national minorities; externally, to unite with the international proletariat, oppressed peoples and other nations which treat us as equals, in order to deliver the Chinese nation from the oppression of foreign imperialism, in order to uproot the oppression of the Chinese people by native feudalism, in order to build up an independent, free, democratic, united, prosperous and powerful federated Republic based on the alliance of all revolutionary classes and on the free association of national groupings and in order to realise world peace and progress.

At a future stage, when the Chinese national, democratic revolution has won a complete victory, the task of the Communist Party of China will be to take the necessary steps for the realisation of a system of Socialism and Communism in China, in accordance with the requirements of China's social and economic development and the will of the Chinese people.

Semi-colonial and semi-feudal China is a country vast in territory, immense in population and as yet dis-united. On the one hand, the broad masses of the people, especially the workers and peasants, have a revolutionary tradition of heroic struggle; on the other hand, extremely formidable obstacles stand in the path of the revolution. These factors determine the uneven development of the Chinese revolution, giving rise to its long-drawn-out nature, and to the complexity of the revolutionary struggle. They also explain why armed struggle has been for a long time the principal form of the Chinese revolution, why the strengthening of the revolutionary bases in the rural areas is of paramount importance before the revolution has attained victory in the leading cities, and finally, why it has been necessary for the Communist Party of China to work long and patiently among all sections of the people. Thus the Communist Party of China, taking into account these characteristics of the Chinese revolution, must in the long course of the revolution, be sufficiently courageous, experienced and skilled to mobilise and organise millions of people, overcome all difficulties and obstacles and avoid all hidden rocks so as to move forward to its goal, while at the same time unceasingly tempering its own ranks.

In the course of the revolutionary struggle, the Communist Party of China must endeavour to become the core of all revolutionary mass organisations and of the revolutionary State organs. It must also carry on a determined fight against all internal and external activities which are aimed at splitting the unity of the working

class, disrupting the alliance of the revolutionary classes, or undermining the cause of the revolution.

The Communist Party of China cannot tolerate the existence of Right or "Left" opportunism in its ranks. To maintain unity in its ranks, the Communist Party of China must wage an irreconcilable but appropriate struggle against the opportunists, capitulationists and adventurers in its midst and expel from its ranks those who persist in their errors.

The Communist Party of China must not cover up the mistakes and defects in its work. It must constantly examine these mistakes and defects by the method of criticism and self-criticism, so as to correct them in time and educate its members and cadres. It is opposed to self-conceit, reluctance to admit mistakes and fear of criticism and self-criticism.

Chinese Communists must devote themselves wholeheartedly to serving the people. They must establish wide connections with the masses of workers, peasants and all other revolutionary people and pay constant attention to strengthening and broadening these connections. Every Party member must understand that the interests of the Party are identical with the interests of the people and that responsibility to the Party is identical with responsibility to the people. Every Party member must listen attentively to the voice of the people, understand their urgent needs and help them to organise in order to struggle for the satisfaction of their needs. Every Party member must be fully resolved to learn from the masses of the people and, at the same time, to educate

them untiringly in a revolutionary spirit for the purpose of awakening and developing their consciousness. The Communist Party of China must be constantly on the alert against the danger of becoming isolated from the masses and must see to it that such erroneous tendencies as "tailism", "commandism", "closed door" policy, bureaucracy and "warlordism", which estrange the Party from the masses, are prevented and liquidated.

The Communist Party of China is organised on the basis of democratic centralism, as a united, militant organisation, welded together by voluntary discipline which is binding on all its members.

The strength of the Communist Party of China lies in its resolute solidarity, its unity of will and its unity of action. No action is tolerated within the Party which departs from the Party Programme or Constitution, undermines Party discipline or leads to autonomism, factionalism or double-dealing. The Communist Party of China must always ensure that incorrigible violators of the Party Programme, Party Constitution and Party discipline are expelled from its ranks.

The Communist Party of China requires each and every one of its members to work actively and self-sacrificingly for the realisation of the Programme and the decisions of the Party in order to achieve the complete liberation of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people.

## CHAPTER I

### MEMBERSHIP

#### *Article 1*

Any person may become a member of the Party who accepts the Programme and Constitution of the Party, belongs to and works in one of the Party's organisations, observes Party decisions, and pays Party membership dues.

#### *Article 2*

The duties of a Party member shall be the following:

(a) To endeavour to raise the level of his or her consciousness and to understand the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung;

(b) To strictly observe Party discipline, to participate actively in inner-Party political life and in the revolutionary movement in China, to carry out in practice the policy and decisions of the Party, and to fight against everything inside and outside the Party which is detrimental to the Party's interests;

(c) To serve the masses of the people, to consolidate the Party's connections with them, to learn and to report in time their needs and to explain to them the policy of the Party;

(d) To be exemplary in observing the discipline of the revolutionary government and the revolutionary organisations, to master his or her line of work and to set an example in the various fields of revolutionary work.

### *Article 3*

The rights of a Party member shall be the following:

(a) To participate in free and full discussion of problems in Party meetings and in Party publications concerning the carrying out of Party policy;

(b) To elect and to be elected within the Party;

(c) To submit proposals or statements to any Party organisation, up to and including the Central Committee;

(d) To criticise in Party meetings any Party functionary.

### *Article 4*

A person may be admitted as a Party member only after attaining the age of 18.

Party membership shall become effective only upon individual compliance with the procedure governing admission into the Party as provided in the following:

(a) Workers, coolies, farm hands, poor peasants, city poor, or revolutionary soldiers, shall become full Party members only when each applicant has been recommended by two full Party members, and after being accepted by the decision of a branch general membership meeting and approved by the Party committee of a sub-district or its equivalent in status, and only after the completion of a period of candidature of six months.

(b) Middle peasants, salaried employees, intellectuals or professional persons shall become full Party members only when each applicant has been recommended by two full Party members, one of whom must be a member of more than one year's standing, and after being accepted by the decision of a branch general membership meeting and approved by the Party committee of a sub-district or its equivalent in status, and only after the completion of a period of candidature of one year.

In areas newly won over to the revolution the qualifications of those making the recommendation as well as the terms of candidature mentioned in (a) and (b) may be modified in accordance with temporary measures as provided by the Central Committee or its representative body or by a provincial or border regional Party committee;

(c) Any person whose social status is other than those mentioned in (a) or (b) above shall become a full Party member only when he or she has been recommended by two full Party members, one of whom must be a member of more than three years' standing, and after being accepted by the decision of a branch general

membership meeting and approved by the Party Committee of a county or city, or its equivalent in status, and only after the completion of a period of candidature of two years.

(d) An ordinary member who leaves another political party to join our Party shall become a full Party member only when he or she has been recommended by two full Party members, one of whom must be a member of over three years' standing, and after being accepted by the decision of a branch general membership meeting and approved by a county Party committee or its equivalent in status. In the case of a responsible member who leaves another political party to join our Party, one of the two members making the recommendation must be a full Party member of over five years' standing, and the recommendation must be accepted by a branch general membership meeting and approved by a provincial Party committee or its equivalent in status. In the case of a highly important responsible member of another political party who leaves his party to join our Party, approval by the Central Committee is necessary. In all the above cases, a period of candidature of two years is required.

### *Article 5*

Under special conditions, county Party committees, or their equivalent in status, and their higher leading bodies, shall have the power to decide directly on the admission of individual new Party members.



## *Article 6*

Each Party member who recommends new Party members must supply the Party with truthful and responsible information concerning the ideology, character and personal record of the applicant for membership, and before making the recommendation, must explain to the applicant the Party Constitution and Programme and its policy.

Before taking a decision on, or granting approval of, the admission of a new member, a Party Committee shall assign a Party functionary to have a detailed conversation with the applicant and to undertake a responsible verification of the applicant's record.

## *Article 7*

The purpose of the period of candidature is to provide the candidate-member with elementary Party education as well as to ensure observation by the Party organisation of the candidate-member's political qualities in the course of his or her work.

The duties and rights of a candidate-member shall be the same as those of a full member except that the former shall have no right to elect, to be elected, or to vote on any motion.

## *Article 8*

After the completion of the term of candidature, the change to full membership shall be effected by the

decision of a branch general membership meeting, with the approval either of the higher Party committee which approved the admission, or of a Party committee of the same status.

A Party committee may extend or reduce the term of candidature of a candidate-member under its jurisdiction.

The status of a candidate-member may be annulled if he or she is found during the period of candidature to be unfit to join the Party.

### *Article 9*

The Party standing of a member shall be calculated from the date when a decision is taken to change his or her status of candidature into that of full Party membership.

### *Article 10*

When a full Party member or a candidate-member is transferred from one place to another place under the jurisdiction of another Party organisation he or she shall become a full Party member or a candidate-member, as the case may be, of the latter organisation.

### *Article 11*

A Party member or a candidate-member desiring to leave the Party shall make a formal application to this effect to his or her Party branch, which shall take

a decision at its general membership meeting to strike the applicant's name off the Party rolls, and this action shall be reported to the higher Party committee for registration.

### *Article 12*

A Party member or a candidate-member who, within a period of six months, fails to take part in Party life, to carry out Party assignments or to pay Party membership dues without legitimate reasons, shall be treated as having automatically left the Party, and a decision to strike the said member's name off the Party rolls shall be taken by a branch general membership meeting and this action shall be reported to the higher Party committee for approval.

### *Article 13*

The expulsion of a Party member or a candidate-member shall be discussed and decided upon by a general membership meeting of the said member's Party branch; the decision shall become effective only upon approval by its higher Party committee.

Under special conditions a Party committee above a branch may take action to expel a Party member or a candidate-member from the Party, but such action shall become effective only upon approval by its higher Party committee.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY

#### *Article 14*

The Party's organisational structure is based upon democratic-centralism, which means centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralised leadership. The fundamental principles are as follows:

(a) The leading bodies of the Party at all levels must be elected;

(b) The leading bodies of the Party at all levels must submit reports at fixed intervals to the lower Party organisations which elect them;

(c) Each individual Party member shall submit to the decisions of the Party organisation to which he belongs; minorities shall submit to the decision of the majority; the lower Party organisations shall submit to the higher Party organisations and all constituent Party organisations shall submit to the Central Committee;

(d) Party discipline shall be strictly observed and Party decisions carried out unconditionally.

## *Article 15*

Party organisations shall be established on the basis of geographical divisions or branches of production.

The organisation in charge of the Party work in a given area shall be the superior organ of all Party organisations in the said area.

The organisation in charge of the Party work in a production branch shall be the superior organ of all Party organisations in the said branch.

## *Article 16*

The organisational structure of the Party shall be as follows:

(a) For China as a whole, there shall be the National Party Congress, the Central Committee, and the National Party Conference;

(b) For a province, border region or region there shall be the provincial, border regional, or regional Party Congress; the provincial, border regional, or regional Party committee; and the provincial, border regional, or regional Party Conference;

(c) For a county, there shall be the county Party Congress, the county Party committee and the county Party Conference;

(d) For a city, there shall be the city Party Congress, the city Party committee and the city Party Conference;

(e) For a sub-district in a city or in a rural district there shall be the sub-district Party Congress (or the sub-district general membership meeting), the sub-district committee and the sub-district Party Conference;

(f) For a factory, mine, village, enterprise, street, company of the Army, office, or school, there shall be the general membership meeting, the branch Party committee and the branch Party Conference.

### *Article 17*

The highest leading body of a Party branch shall be the general membership meeting of the branch. The highest leading body of a sub-district, county, city, region, border region or province, shall be its Party Congress. The highest leading body of the whole Party shall be the National Party Congress.

During the intervals between Party congresses at all levels the Party committees elected therefrom shall be the highest leading bodies of the Party organisations of the corresponding levels.

### *Article 18*

The leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall be established by the elective method wherever possible. They may be elected by a Party Conference or appointed by a higher Party organisation only when circumstances do not permit the calling of a general membership meeting or a Party Congress.

## *Article 19*

The election of a Party committee at any level shall be conducted either by secret ballot or by open vote from a list of candidates, with the guarantee that the voters shall have the right to criticise any candidate and to change any candidate on the list.

## *Article 20*

In order to transmit or to discuss important decisions of a higher Party organisation, or in order to review or to plan its work, a Party organisation at any level may hold various kinds of meetings of its cadres or of its active elements.

## *Article 21*

Every Party member may carry on within the Party and in Party meetings free and full discussion to express his or her views on Party policy and on various issues before decisions are reached. However, when a decision is reached, it must be abided by and carried out unconditionally.

## *Article 22*

The leading bodies of the Party organisations at all levels shall carry on their work in accordance with the principle of inner-Party democracy. Only by doing so will it be possible to promote the revolutionary initiative

and the creative power of the Party membership, to strengthen Party discipline, which should be conscious and not mechanical discipline, to ensure correct Party leadership and to maintain and consolidate centralism based on democracy. In the course of doing this, however, the leading bodies of the Party organisations at all levels must guard against any weakening of inner-Party centralism and must not misconstrue inner-Party democracy, which is proper and beneficial to centralised action, for anarchistic tendencies (acts of autonomism, and ultra-democracy).

### *Article 23*

In order to ensure that inner-Party democracy shall proceed along lines beneficial to the cause of the Party instead of slackening its fighting will or its fighting solidarity in time of emergency, or of being utilised by possible saboteurs, anti-Party elements or factionalists to damage or split the Party, or allowing a handful of persons to take advantage for selfish ends of temporary ideological unpreparedness of the overwhelming majority in the Party; the following conditions shall be required for any extensive and all-inclusive review of or discussion on Party policy of a national or local scope as the case may be:

(a) Time must so permit. In other words, the objective conditions must not be a state of emergency;

(b) It must be so decided by the Central Committee of the Party or by the local leading body;



(c) It must be so proposed by a majority of lower organisations or by a higher Party organisation.

#### *Article 24*

The Party organisations at all levels shall see to it that the newspapers under their guidance popularise the decisions and policy of their higher Party organisations and of the central Party organs.

#### *Article 25*

Before the Central Committee has made any statement or decision, no departmental or lower Party organisation or its responsible personnel shall be free to make any statement or state views on any issue of a national character, although private discussions and making suggestions to the Central Committee are allowed. As to local issues, a local Party organisation shall have the power to make independent decisions, provided that such decisions do not conflict with the decisions of its higher Party organisation or of the Central Committee.

#### *Article 26*

A newly-established Party organisation shall secure the approval of the higher Party organisation to which it belongs.

## *Article 27*

To facilitate the direction of the work of provincial and regional Party organisations, the Central Committee may, according to the needs of the circumstances, establish central bureaux and sub-central bureaux, each of which shall have jurisdiction over several provinces or border regions. The said bureaux shall be appointed by the Central Committee and shall be held responsible to it. Any of the said bureaux may be abolished or merged with any other(s) when its continued existence becomes unnecessary.

## *Article 28*

In order to carry on various kinds of practical work, a Party committee at any level may, under its unified leadership, set up departments or commissions to take charge of Party affairs, propaganda and education, military affairs, economic affairs, and the mass work, as the situation may require. A Party committee at any level may establish temporary commissions or departments to carry out temporary, specific lines of work.

## CHAPTER III

### THE CENTRAL ORGANISATION OF THE PARTY

#### *Article 29*

The National Party Congress shall be decided upon and convened by the Central Committee. Under ordinary conditions, it shall be convened once in every three years. Under extraordinary conditions, it may be either postponed or convened earlier as the Central Committee may decide.

If lower Party organisations representing more than one-half of the total Party membership request that a National Party Congress be convened the Central Committee shall act accordingly.

A National Party Congress shall be regarded as valid only if it is attended by delegates representing over one-half of the total Party membership.

The number of delegates to the National Party Congress and the procedure governing their election shall be determined by the Central Committee.

### *Article 30*

The functions and powers of the National Party Congress shall be as follows:

(a) To hear and receive, discuss, and ratify the reports submitted by the Central Committee and other Central organs;

(b) To decide upon and amend the Party Programme and Party Constitution;

(c) To determine the basic orientation and policy of the Party;

(d) To elect the Central Committee.

### *Article 31*

The number of the members of the Central Committee shall be determined by the National Party Congress, and the members of the Central Committee shall be elected by the National Party Congress.

When vacancies occur in the Central Committee, they shall be filled by alternate members of the Central Committee according to the order of precedence.

### *Article 32*

The Central Committee shall represent the Party in its relations with other political parties and organisations, set up Party organs and direct their activities, and take charge of the distribution of the Party's personnel and finance.

### *Article 33*

The Central Committee shall be summoned to meet in plenary session once every half-year by the Central Political Bureau. However, the Central Political Bureau may postpone or call the session earlier according to circumstances. Alternate members of the Central Committee may attend the plenary session and have the right to state their opinions.

### *Article 34*

The Central Committee shall elect in plenary session the Central Political Bureau, the Central Secretariat, and the Chairman of the Central Committee.

The Central Political Bureau shall be the central leading body of the Party and direct all the work of the Party during the intervals between the plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

The Central Secretariat shall attend to the daily work of the Central Committee according to the decisions of the Central Political Bureau.

The Chairman of the Central Committee shall be concurrently the Chairman of the Central Political Bureau and of the Central Secretariat.

The Central Committee shall, according to the needs of its work, set up departments (such as Organisation Department, Propaganda Department, etc.) commissions (such as Military Affairs Commission, Party Press Commission, etc.) and other organs to function in their

respective fields under the direction and supervision of the Central Political Bureau, the Central Secretariat and the Chairman of the Central Committee.

### *Article 35*

During the intervals between National Party Congresses, the Central Committee may convene a number of National Party Conferences, composed of the representatives from lower Party committees, to discuss and decide on questions concerning the policy of the Party in the current situation.

### *Article 36*

The representatives to a National Party Conference shall be elected at the plenary sessions of provincial Party committees, border region Party committees, and other Party committees directly under the Central Committee. The number of the representatives shall be determined by the Central Committee.

The National Party Conference must be attended by representatives from more than one-half of the total number of provincial and border region Party committees throughout the country.

### *Article 37*

The National Party Conference shall have the power to remove full or alternate members of the Central Committee who are incapable of discharging their duties.

and to elect, in by-elections, part of the alternate members of the Central Committee provided that the number of full and alternate members so removed, or the number of alternate members so elected, at each Conference shall not exceed one-fifth of the total number of both full and alternate members of the Central Committee.

### *Article 38*

Decisions taken at a National Party Conference and the removal and election of full, or alternate member(s) of the Central Committee by the conference shall take effect only upon ratification by the Central Committee.

All decisions of a National Party Conference ratified by the Central Committee shall be carried out by all organisations of the Party.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE PROVINCIAL AND BORDER REGION ORGANISATIONS OF THE PARTY

#### *Article 39*

A provincial or border regional Party Congress and a provincial or border regional Party committee shall submit to the leadership of the Central Committee or its representative body.

#### *Article 40*

The Party Congress of a province or border region shall be convened once in every two years by the provincial or border regional Party committee. Under extraordinary conditions, the provincial or border regional Party committee may either postpone or convene the congress earlier. A provincial or border regional Party committee must convene such a congress at the request of more than one-half of its lower Party organisations or on the proposal of the Central Committee or its representative body.

The number of delegates to a provincial or border regional Party Congress and the methods of their election, shall be determined by the provincial or border regional



Party committee, subject to the approval of the Central Committee or its representative body.

### *Article 41*

The provincial or border regional Party Congress shall hear and receive, discuss and ratify the reports submitted by the provincial or border regional Party committee and other Party organs of the said province or border region, discuss and decide on questions and various kinds of work pertaining to the province or border region; and elect the members of the provincial or border regional Party committee and delegates to the National Party Congress.

### *Article 42*

The provincial or border regional Party committee shall elect in plenary session its standing committee, and its secretary and assistant-secretary to carry on the daily work. The secretary of a provincial or border regional Party committee and the members of the standing committee shall be approved by the Central Committee. The secretary shall be a Party member of over five years' standing.

The provincial or border regional Party committee shall meet in plenary session at least twice a year.

### *Article 43*

A provincial or border regional Party committee shall carry out in its province or border region the deci-

sions of the provincial or border regional Party Congress and of the central organs, set up various Party organisations, allocate the Party's personnel and finance and direct the work of Party fractions in non-Party organisations.

#### *Article 44*

During the intervals between provincial or border regional Party Congresses, a provincial or border regional Party committee may convene a number of provincial or border regional Party Conferences composed of representatives from the region and county Party committees and other Party committees directly under it, to discuss and decide on problems concerning the work within the province or border region.

A provincial or border regional Party Conference shall have the power to remove, and elect, in by-elections, part of the members of the provincial or border regional Party committee provided the number of removals or the new members thus elected shall not exceed one-fourth of the total number of the members of the said committee.

#### *Article 45*

The decisions taken at a provincial or border regional Party Conference, and the removal and election of members of a provincial or border regional Party committee by the said conference shall take effect only upon ratification by the provincial or border regional Party committee.

## CHAPTER V

### THE REGIONAL, COUNTY, CITY AND SUB-DISTRICT ORGANISATIONS OF THE PARTY

#### *Article 46*

The regulations governing the organisation and work of the Party for a region, county, city or sub-district shall be the same as those governing the organisation and work of the Party for a province or border region as stipulated in Chapter IV of the Constitution. Each shall be under the leadership of its higher Party organisation.

#### *Article 47*

Regional, county, city or sub-district Party Congresses shall be convened once in every two years. During the intervals between such congresses a number of Party Conferences may be held.

#### *Article 48*

A regional or county Party committee shall meet in plenary session at least four times a year. A city or sub-district Party committee shall meet in plenary session at least once a month.

The members, the secretary and the assistant-secretary of a regional, county, city or sub-district Party committee shall be approved by their respective higher Party organisations. The secretary of a regional, county or city Party committee shall be a Party member of over three years' standing. The secretary of a sub-district Party committee shall be a Party member of over one year's standing. In areas newly won over to the revolution, the above provisions on Party standing may be modified, with the approval of a provincial or border regional Party committee.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE BASIC ORGANISATION OF THE PARTY

#### *Article 49*

The basic organisation of the Party shall be the Party branch. In any factory, mine, village, enterprise, street, company of the Army, office, or school, where there are three or more Party members, a Party branch shall be organised. If there are fewer than three members, the said members shall join the nearest branch of the Party.

The organisation of a Party branch shall be approved by a county or city Party committee.

#### *Article 50*

Wherever the membership is large, groups may be formed under the branch Party committee according to natural, residential or working conditions. Each group shall elect a group leader and, when necessary, a deputy-leader.

In a village with more than fifty Party members and candidate-members; in a factory, office, or school with more than a hundred members, a general

branch of the Party may be formed. Under the general branch of the Party there shall be sub-branches of the Party, organised according to the place of residence, shop, department, or class. A sub-branch of the Party shall enjoy the same status as an ordinary branch of the Party.

### *Article 51*

A town, factory, office, or school with over five hundred Party members and candidate-members may elect a committee with the approval of the provincial or border region Party committee. Under such an elected committee Party branches shall be organised according to the place of residence, shop, department, or class.

### *Article 52*

A Party branch shall strive to bring about a close unity between the Party and the masses of the people.

The duties of a Party branch shall be the following:

(a) To carry on propaganda and organisational work among the masses of the people in order to realise the standpoint advocated by the Party and the decisions of the higher Party organisations;

(b) To pay constant attention to the sentiments and demands of the masses of the people, to report such sentiments and demands to the higher Party organisa-

tions, to pay heed to the political, economic and cultural life of the people, and to organise the masses of the people to solve their own problems;

(c) To recruit new members, to collect Party membership dues, to check and verify the records of Party members, and to enforce Party discipline among the Party members;

(d) To educate the Party members and organise their studies.

### *Article 53*

The membership meeting of a Party branch shall elect a branch Party committee to carry on the daily work. The term of office of the committee shall be from six months to one year. The number of members of a branch committee shall be determined according to the size of the Party branch—from a minimum of three to a maximum of eleven. The committee shall elect a secretary and, when necessary, an assistant-secretary. Division of labour among the other committee members shall be arranged by the committee according to actual needs.

A Party branch with fewer than seven members shall elect only a secretary, or a secretary and an assistant-secretary, and shall not form a Party branch committee.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE UNDERGROUND ORGANISATIONS OF THE PARTY

#### *Article 54*

In areas where the Party is unable to exist and function legally, the underground forms of organisation and methods of work of the Party shall be defined by special decisions of the Central Committee in accordance with the Party Constitution. Any form of Party organisation and any method of Party work as provided in this Constitution which are inapplicable to the underground organisations of the Party may be modified.

#### *Article 55*

In admitting a new Party member an underground organisation of the Party shall undertake very careful investigation. A new member, in joining the Party, shall go through only such procedures for admission into the Party as are permitted under secret circumstances.



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE CONTROL ORGANS OF THE PARTY

#### *Article 56*

The Central Committee of the Party may set up a Central Control Commission and other lower control commissions when it deems such to be necessary.

#### *Article 57*

The Central Control Commission shall be elected by the Central Committee in plenary session. The control commission of a lower Party organisation shall be elected by the said lower Party committee in plenary session, and shall be submitted to its higher Party organisation for approval.

#### *Article 58*

The functions and powers of the central and lower control commissions shall be to impose or annul disciplinary measures upon Party members and to deal with Party members' complaints.

## *Article 59*

The control commissions at all levels shall function under the direction of the Party committees at the corresponding levels.

## CHAPTER IX

### PARTY FRACTIONS IN NON-PARTY ORGANISATIONS

#### *Article 60*

In the leading body of a government agency, trade union, peasant association, cooperative society or any other mass organisation, where there are three or more Party members holding responsible positions, a Party fraction shall be formed. The task of a Party fraction shall be to guide the Party members in the leading body of the said organisation, to strengthen the influence of the Party and to carry out the policy of the Party.

#### *Article 61*

A Party fraction shall have a secretary. A Party fraction having more than ten members shall set up a working committee to carry on the daily work. The secretary and the members of the working committee shall be appointed by the Party committee to which the said fraction belongs.

## *Article 62*

The Party fractions in non-party organisations shall be placed under the leadership of the Party committees at the corresponding levels and carry out the decisions of the said committees.

The Party committees at all levels may ask the responsible members of important Party fractions to attend their meetings.

## CHAPTER X

### COMMENDATION AND DISCIPLINE

#### *Article 63*

Any Party member or Party organisation may be commended for demonstrating in practical work absolute loyalty to the cause of the Party and of the people, for exemplary observance of the discipline of the Party and of the revolutionary government, for displaying exceptional initiative in carrying out the Programme and the policy of the Party and the decisions of their higher Party organisation and of the Central Committee, for outstanding success in fulfilling Party assignments, and for winning the genuine support of the masses of the people.

#### *Article 64*

The Party organisations at all levels may take the following disciplinary measures, according to concrete circumstances, against failure to carry out the decision of a higher Party body or the decision of the Central Committee or against violation of the Party Constitution or the discipline of the Party:

(a) Disciplinary measures applicable to an entire Party organisation shall be: reprimand, partial re-organisation of its leading body, dismissal of its leading body and appointment of an interim leading body, or dissolution of the entire Party organisation and re-registration of its membership;

(b) Disciplinary measures applicable to a Party member shall be: admonition or warning in private, admonition or warning in public, removal from assigned work, placing on probation, or expulsion from the Party.

### *Article 65*

When a full or alternate member of the Central Committee of the Party commits a serious breach of Party discipline, the Central Committee shall have the power to remove him from the Committee or even to expel him from the Party. Such measures must be approved by two-thirds of the entire membership of the Central Committee before coming into effect.

### *Article 66*

The Party organisation or Party member against whom a disciplinary measure is taken shall be notified of the reason. Any such member or organisation regarding the disciplinary measure as unjust, may challenge the decision and request a reconsideration of the case, or appeal to a higher Party organisation. The Party committee at the appropriate level shall forward such appeals without delay. Detention or suppression of such appeals is forbidden.

## *Article 67*

Expulsion from the Party is the highest of all inner-Party disciplinary measures. Every Party organisation shall exercise the utmost caution in making such a decision, or in approving it, and shall carefully listen to the appeal of the disciplined Party member and analyse the circumstances of his or her mistakes.

## *Article 68*

The Party's positive object in commending or disciplining a Party member shall be the education of the Party membership and the masses of the people as well as of the commended or the disciplined Party member and not the encouragement of personal vanity or penalisation. The Party commendation of Party members with excellent records shall be aimed at establishing an exemplary style of work in the Party and at establishing a model standard for the Party membership. The criticism and disciplinary measures against Party members who have committed errors are intended to serve as a warning to others and to help them to overcome their errors and to save them.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE FUNDS OF THE PARTY

#### *Article 69*

The Party shall be financed by Party membership dues, by income from productive and other economic enterprises operated by the Party, and by contributions from non-party circles.

#### *Article 70*

Scales of membership dues payment for Party members and candidate-members shall be determined and enforced by each provincial, or border regional Party committee or by a Party committee of the same status.



## EXPLANATORY NOTES

**Chen Tu-hsiu-ism:** A Right opportunist line as represented by Chen Tu-hsiu, secretary-general of the Communist Party of China in 1921-27. It advocated giving up the leadership of the proletariat and sacrificing the interests of the broad masses of workers and peasants in order to get along with the bourgeoisie. After the Chinese revolution was betrayed in 1927 Chen Tu-hsiu became a liquidator. Finally, Chen Tu-hsiu joined hands with the Chinese Trotskyites and turned out to be an open renegade.

**Kutien Conference:** In December 1929, the Communist Party organisation within the Fourth Red Army held its 9th Party Congress at Kutien in west Fukien. The Congress reviewed the various non-proletarian deviations in the Army and adopted a resolution drafted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The Congress is of tremendous historical significance because under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung it delivered the Army led by the Chinese Communist Party from warlord and petty bourgeois deviations and developed it into a disciplined Army closely linked up with the masses and guided by proletarian ideology.

**Li Li-san's line:** A form of "Left" opportunism as represented by Comrade Li Li-san. Its special feature was to deny the necessity for making a correct estimate of the relative strength of the contending forces and the relationship between the different classes in each mass revolutionary action. It rashly advocated conducting armed uprisings in the leading cities under the white terror of the enemy. Later on Comrade Li Li-san admitted and corrected his mistakes.

**Mountain-top-ism:** A form of local sectarianism which placed sectional interests above those of the whole. One special feature was the display of intimacy with the cadres and comrades of one's own locality and coolness towards the cadres and comrades of other localities. This tendency to sectarianism originated from the fact that during the long years of guerrilla warfare the revolutionary bases in the rural districts were scattered and out of contact with each other. As in most cases these revolutionary bases were established in mountainous areas, so this form of sectarianism came to be called mountain-top-ism.

**Rectification of Three Styles:** The campaign for the Rectification of Three Styles was launched in 1941-42 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It was an ideological remoulding campaign conducted throughout the Party, aimed at exposing and rectifying all incorrect ideas and practices displayed by Party members in various fields of work. The principal expressions of such incorrect ideas and practices were sectarianism in the organisational work of the Party, dogmatism in studies and formalism in the propaganda work.



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